

William Allen.

A NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION

SENT BY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

TO

THE RIVER NIGER,

IN 1841.

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

CAPTAIN H. D. TROTTER, R.N.

BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM ALLEN, R.N.

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AND

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PUBLISHED WITH THE SANCTION OF

THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND THE ADMIRALTY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.

WHO

AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION

OF THE

SLAVE TRADE AND THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA,

TOOK SUCH PHILANTHROPICAL INTEREST IN ITS OBJECTS

AND IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NIGER EXPEDITION;

THESE VOLUMES,

ARE DEDICATED WITH GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS',

MOST DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANTS,

WILLIAM ALLEN,

T. R. H. THOMSON.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. II.

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

PREFACE.

EVENTS of the deepest excitement supersede one another so rapidly, that it can scarcely be expected the public will be solicitous to know why so long a period has been allowed to pass since the return of the Niger Expedition, before any authentic statement of its proceedings has been given to the world.

The authors, conceiving that a faithful record of the progress of that philanthropic experiment is due to the public, as well as in justice to the conductors of it, have ventured to draw up the following Narrative. They are indebted to the late Dr. Vogel, Mr. Roscher, and Dr. Stanger, of whose botanical and geological journals (placed at their disposal by the kindness of Captain Trotter) they have availed themselves; and they have to express their deep obligations to Dr. McWilliam for the account of the proceedings of H. M. Steam-vessel 'Albert' whenever separated from the 'Wilberforce,' and for a series of well-arranged tables of the vital statistics.

The account of the second ascent of the 'Wilberforce,'

is derived from the report of Lieutenant Webb to the Admiralty.

Some valuable philological remarks on the vocabularies of the African tribes have been kindly furnished by Dr. Latham.

Colonel Sabine, R.A., had obligingly undertaken to reduce the magnetical observations, but the attention required by the numerous scientific works to which he is so unremittingly devoted, has prevented their timely preparation; grateful acknowledgments are, however, due to that officer for supplying the accompanying letter, which will show that this important branch of science was not neglected.

Woolwich, June 13, 1843.

"My Dear Sir,

"I regret extremely, that the reduction and co-ordination of your magnetic observations are not sufficiently advanced to enable me to furnish you with such an abstract of the results, and such a general notice of their importance and bearing on our knowledge of the magnetism of the earth, as would have had a proper place in your Work, and have been satisfactory to yourself and to your readers. Your determinations of the absolute values of the magnetic declination, dip, and intensity of the magnetic force on the western coast of Africa, will undoubtedly supply for

the magnetic maps now in construction, the principal part of the materials for that quarter of the globe.

"Having made some progress in reducing these, I have had frequent occasion to admire the scrupulous and persevering attention which you paid to all those minute circumstances on which, in observations of this nature, the accuracy of the results is mainly dependent; and which is the more important in your case, because the interior of the continent of Africa is altogether without such determinations, and the direction of the magnetic lines is consequently more than usually dependent for its correctness on the accuracy of the observations on the coasts. I need scarcely say, that the peculiar objects and circumstances of your Expedition, and the sufferings which it underwent, render such careful attention to minutiæ the more worthy of admiration. The co-ordination of your observations on *Term-days*, with the simultaneous observations made in different parts of the globe, is also in progress, and promises to afford some interesting and valuable results, particularly the Term-day of April, 1842, which you observed at Fernando Po. It was a day of considerable magnetic disturbance apparently over the whole globe, and Western Africa seems to have had its full share. Fernando Po, as a station, is well placed, in connection with the surrounding stations of the Cape

of Good Hope, St. Helena, Algiers, and Southern Europe.

"Believe me,

"My dear Sir,

"Very sincerely yours,

"EDWARD SABINE."

To Captain William Allen,
R.N. F.R.S.

The prominence given in the following Narrative to the 'Wilberforce,' arises from the fact of that vessel having been actively engaged during the whole period of the Expedition, the command of which devolved on Captain William Allen.

LONDON,
JUNE 20, 1848.

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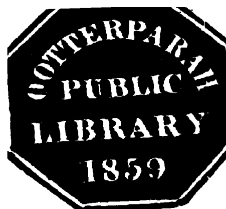
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A NARRATIVE

OF THE

EXPEDITION TO THE RIVER NIGER.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient Copts first acquainted with the interior of Africa—Herodotus, his account of the earliest African explorers—Ptolemy—Greeks and Romans—Imperfect knowledge of the interior of Africa—Arab travellers—Ibn Batuta and Leo Africanus—First Association formed in England for promoting discovery in Africa—Messrs. Ledyard and Lucas—Major Houghton—Mungo Park, his discovery of the Niger—Horneman—Park's second expedition—Captain Tuckey's attempt to penetrate Africa by the Zaire—Ritchie and Lyon—Clapperton, Oudney and Denham's overland route—Clapperton's second attempt—Sultan Bellos' idea of the Nile and Kowara, or Niger—Major Laing reaches Timbuktùh—Richard and John Lander trace the Niger from Bussah to the coast—Commercial Expedition formed at Liverpool to ascend the Niger—Lieutenant W. Allen accompanies it—Mr. Macgregor Laird and Richard Lander take charge of the enterprise—Its failure as a commercial speculation—Mr. Becroft ascends the Niger.

The vast regions of central Africa, for inscrutable purposes, have been, as it were, a sealed book which has excited and eluded the curiosity of civilized nations of all ages. Although many attempts have been made

to search into the contents of the mysterious volume, but a few scanty pages only, have with difficulty, and at long intervals been deciphered.

We have thought it desirable to put together the information thus sparingly gleaned; and therefore propose to give a succinct account of the discoveries of our precursors, in order that the reader may be able to connect them with the following Narrative of the late Government Expedition; confining our chain of introduction to such facts as relate to its peculiar object—the River Niger and the nations on its banks.

In commencing at the earliest possible period, we have good precedent in the case of the Venetian Senator; who, wishing to give a brief sketch of the revolutions of empires, began his oration with an investigation into the causes of the Fall of the Angels.

Among the representations of contemporaneous events, &c., on the walls of ancient temples and tombs in Upper Egypt, fettered groups of black figures, bearing apparently the peculiar characteristics of the Negro,* lead to the belief not only that the Copts, as far back as 3,400 years, had some acquaintance with the interior of their continent, but that this devoted race was even at that remote period† victims of the oppression and rapine

* Rossellini, vol. I. pl. 64, 85, 86, &c.

† The traffic in slaves was tolerated in Egypt; and it is reasonable to suppose that many persons were engaged, as at present, in bringing them to Egypt for public sale, independent of those who were sent as part of the tribute.—*Sir G. Wilkinson*, vol. I. p. 404.

which—perpetuated through all intermediate periods—have in our own proud age produced "a sum of human misery—the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate."

Whether the geographical knowledge of the Copts was confined to the scenes of their predatory warfare in those parts of Ethiopia in their immediate neighbourhood, or was extended to the interesting field of modern research, there are no records left for our information earlier than 484 years before Christ; when, we learn from Herodotus, the "Father of Historians," that in his time there was a spirit of inquiry respecting the remote and almost inaccessible countries lying beyond the Desert.

"He was informed by some Cyrenians, that in a journey they took to the Oracle of Ammon, they had conferred with Etearchus, King of the Ammonians; and that, among other things, discoursing with him concerning the head of the Nile, as of a thing altogether unknown, Etearchus acquainted them that certain Nasamones, a nation of Lybia inhabiting the borders of the Syrtis to the eastward, coming into his country, and being asked by him if they had learned any thing new touching the Lybian Deserts, answered that some petulant young men, sons to divers persons of great power among them, had, after many extravagant actions, resolved to send five of their number to the Deserts of Lybia, to see if they

could make any further discoveries than others had done.

"The young men chosen by their companions to make this expedition, having furnished themselves with water and other necessary provisions, first passed through the inhabited country; and when they had likewise traversed that region which abounds in wild beasts, they entered the Deserts, making their way towards the south-west. After they had travelled many days through the sands, they at length saw some trees growing in a plain; and while they were eating the fruit they found on the branches, divers little men, less than those we account of a middling stature, came up to them, speaking a language which the Nasamones understood not; neither did they understand the speech of the Nasamonians. However, they conducted them over vast morasses to a city built on a great river; running from the west to the east and abounding in crocodiles, where the Nasamonians found all the inhabitants black, and of no larger size than their guides.

"The Nasamonians all returned safe, and said that the little men were all enchanters. But for the river which passes by their city, he thought it to be the Nile; and his opinion is not unreasonable."*

No task could be more hopeless than the attempt to identify any geographical position by an account so

* Herodotus, Euterpe, p. 155, Littlebury's translation.

vague and even so questionable. Nevertheless, the reviving curiosity of the middle and subsequent ages has given these early travellers credit for having reached the Niger. With regard to the "great city" on its banks, speculation can have no clue, since the lapse of ages may have witnessed the destruction of many mud-built cities on its banks, prior to the erection of Timbuktùh; which Leo Africanus says, was in the year 610 of the Hegira.

Thus, a single passage of the Greek historian has directed the researches of travellers in Africa to one principal object. As usual with all things difficult of attainment, this interest has increased in proportion to the physical obstacles which seemed to be almost insurmountable; and the failure of one adventurer has only had the effect of stimulating others; who flattered themselves that circumstances might be more favourable to their energy and perseverance.

Uncertain glimmerings of light on the subject have been handed down to us from the ancients, and through the middle ages; but until within a century of our own times, the knowledge of the interior of Africa has remained almost as vague as it was left by the "petulant Nasamonians." There is, however, even in their slight allusion, a degree of romance which has tinctured all subsequent enterprises; and that short passage of Herodotus may be said to shadow forth the difficulties which would attend those who should follow and attempt to verify their discoveries.

The Greeks, in the time of Ptolemy, must have had extensive information respecting the countries south of the Desert, by means of itineraries of numerous travellers of his day. He has laid down the positions of many places, which from his imperfect means, are hardly to be identified, but he clearly shews that two large rivers traversed Sudàn; namely, the Gir and the Nigir; that the latter is the River Joliba, of Park, cannot admit of a doubt. Succeeding researches will also, perhaps, shew as clearly that the Gir is the Chadda.

Although the Romans crossed the great Desert with their armies, and even reached the countries since discovered by Denham and Clapperton, they have left no information respecting *our* river; and for many centuries after them, the interior of Africa remained forgotten and unknown; until some Arabian geographers restored it to the speculations of the spoiler, of the explorer, and in our own better times, of the philanthropist.

Some of these Arabs, and especially Ibn Batuta* in 1353, and Leo Africanus,† in his work published 1556, speak of the great river of Africa as the Niger, and describe the cities and nations on its banks. The latter says that, Tombutto‡ was a rich and powerful city, built

* Professor Lee's translation.

† Viaggi da Ramusio, tom. I. p. 78.

‡ It is curious that one of our interpreters, Mohamed Lamina, said he knew two large cities, Timbaktu and Tombuttu, and the latter was very much larger than the other.

by a King called Mensi Suleiman in the year 610 of the Hegira, 1232, A.D.

The Portuguese, in pursuit of discovery along the west coast of Africa, commenced the slave-trade there in 1443;* but the interest respecting the interior again remained dormant till towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the fearful extent to which the traffic in slaves had arrived in England, gave rise to a spirit of inquiry respecting the countries from which we drew yearly so many thousand victims.

"In the year 1788, some noblemen and gentlemen, desirous of rescuing the age from a charge of ignorance, which in other respects so little belongs to it, and strongly impressed with a conviction of the practicability and utility of thus enlarging the fund of human knowledge, formed the plan of an association, for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa."†.

The first efforts of the Association were to equip two volunteers for African discovery, Mr. Ledyard and Mr. Lucas. The former to endeavour to cross the continent from Senaar towards the west; the latter was to penetrate from Tripoli to Fezzàn, and thence to

* Mr. Bandinel on the Slave Trade, p. 15.

† Proceedings of the African Association, "In this year, also, the Bill of Sir William Dolben for the regulation of the Slave Trade passed on the 10th of July, through the Upper House as through an ordeal, as it were of fire; the first bill that ever put fetters upon that barbarous and destructive monster, the Slave Trade."—*Clarkson*, vol. i. p. 560.

the Gambia and coast of Guinea. Mr. Ledyard unfortunately died at Cairo, and Mr. Lucas was unable, on account of intestine wars, to reach Fezzàn; but at Mesurata, he obtained from native travellers some valuable information concerning the routes across the Desert to Moursouk, the capital of that country; and of the manners and customs of the people, of the empires of Bornù and Kashna, of the city of Timbaktù and of the River Niger, the rise and termination of which, according to his informant, were unknown, but its course was *from east to west.*

An opinion had long obtained that the Niger flowed to the westward, instead of, as the great historian had asserted, to the eastward; and some of the rivers on the west coast, near Sierra Leone, were supposed to be its outlet. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, a Portuguese pilot, passing the Rio Grande on his way to St. Thomas' Island: says, "it is held for certain that this is the river which was called by the ancients the Niger, and that it is a branch of the Nile flowing to the westward."*

Some further information, obtained from an Arab trader, named Shabeni, respecting the city of Timbaktù,

* "Si va per sirocco alla volta del Rio Grande sopra l'Ethiopia gradi 11 verso il nostro polo; qual rio over fiume, si tien certo che sia quello che dalli antichi fu chiamato Nigir, e ch' el sia un ramo del Nilo che corre verso ponente, percio che in detto fiume vi si trouan cocodrilli, caualli marini; cresce in li medesimi giorni che cresce il Nilo." —*Viaggi da Ramusio*, p. 115.

and the River Niger, induced the Association to send Major Houghton, with instructions to penetrate to the Niger by way of the Gambia.

This enterprising officer did not, however, get beyond the kingdom of Bambouk, where the quantity of merchandise which he imprudently carried with him excited the cupidity of the native traders, whom he had engaged as guides, and who, after stripping him of everything, left him to perish.

The melancholy end of Major Houghton's enterprise did not deter a new adventurer from offering his services to the African Association. Mungo Park's simple and touching narrative is so well known to all *who read*, that it will be only necessary to refer to the achievement which has placed him at the head of African travellers—namely, the discovery of a great river which we call the Niger. He ascended the River Gambia, and after having with incredible difficulty crossed several kingdoms, he arrived on the 21st of July, 1796, at Sego, the capital of Bambarra, where he had the gratification of seeing "the majestic Niger glittering in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing *slowly to the eastward.*" He traced the direction of this noble river—which the natives called Joliba—a short distance to the eastward, and having obtained some information, though vague, of its further course, he returned to England.

Although much had been accomplished, yet the mysterious Niger remained almost in as great obscurity as

To endeavour to unveil this mystery, other

travellers now entered the field, but without success. The principal of these was Horneman, a student of Göttingen, who, if he penetrated as far as Nufi or Nyffe, as was supposed, must have become acquainted with a great portion of the course of the Niger; but he probably fell a victim to the climate, as he never returned.

Park's adventurous spirit would not let him rest while the great problem remained unsolved; and, in the beginning of 1805, he again started, under the authority of the Colonial Office, to "pursue the River Niger to the utmost possible distance to which it can be traced." He again took the route from the west coast of Africa by the Gambia, but was not now in the forlorn and solitary condition of his former journey. He was accompanied by a party of three officers, and forty-two men; soldiers, seamen, and artificers.

Park's indomitable perseverance enabled him to reach the Niger, though with the loss of all his party except Lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, all the others having fallen a sacrifice to the fevers consequent on the great fatigue and privations they had to undergo in travelling during the rainy season in that dangerous climate.

Here it may be necessary to notice an apparent anomaly, or incongruity of opinion; as to the most healthy or unhealthy time in Africa. Park always spoke with horror of the rainy season, as "being extremely fatal to Europeans." Whereas our opinion,

backed by that of every experienced person on the coast, is quite the reverse. The different circumstances of the two expeditions, must, however, be borne in mind. Park and his party, in their long journey by land, were exposed to the alternate effects of the deluging rain of the tornado, and the scorching heat of a tropical sun. Whereas nautical expeditions, admitting of constant shelter from both, have the full benefit of the refreshing effects of the tornado upon the atmosphere. There can be no question, but that with means of shelter, the rainy season is comparatively healthy.

Having constructed a vessel out of three half-rotten canoes, which he called His Majesty's schooner, Joliba, Mungo Park and his remaining companions embarked on the 19th of November, 1805, and proceeded down the mysterious river, to seek its unknown termination. This they never accomplished: unfavourable rumours respecting them reached the coast in the course of the following year. But notwithstanding the great interest felt by the public for this enterprising traveller, it is unaccountable that no steps were taken to ascertain the truth until 1810, when Colonel Maxwell, then Governor of Senegal, dispatched Isaaco—Park's guide as far as Sansanding, and who had brought his last communications to the Gambia—with instructions to collect all the information he could. Isaaco having met the man who had accompanied the schooner as guide and pilot, learned from him the fatal truth. They had safely

navigated the river as far as Bussah; but here, taking advantage of its being much obstructed by rocks and rapids, the natives—by command of the King—attacked the little band with bows and arrows. They defended themselves gallantly a long while, and at last perished, in an attempt to escape by swimming.*

With this great sacrifice, a step was gained to the knowledge of the course of the Niger. Although the details of the voyage were unknown, the continuity of the river was ascertained as far as Bussah, also the unexpected change of its direction from an easterly course, which puzzled all geographers, to one nearly south. This led to the wild supposition, that the waters of the Niger might discharge themselves in the River Congo or Zaire, and an expedition was sent thither under Captain Tuckey, R.N. At the same time, another expedition was to follow the route of Mungo Park, in the hope of meeting at some point on the river.

* Mr. Duncan in his "Travels in Western Africa," vol. II. p. 181, gives another version of this tragical event, received from Terrasso-Weea; who was an eye-witness of it. By this it appears, that the pilot Amadi Fatuma, having appealed to the King of Yauri, on a false charge, that Park had not paid him his wages, 'the canoe was ordered to be stopped. Park resisted this, and a general attack was made on him, in which this unfortunate traveller having been mortally wounded, was brought into the presence of the King, where he died. Besides the disagreement of this account with that of Isaaco respecting Park having lost his life in the water, there is a discrepancy in the locality. Isaaco said, that the catastrophe took place at Bussah, which is confirmed by Lander, who sat on the rocks which overlook the place where the intrepid Park lost his life.

The usual fate of African travellers attended them; they had to encounter hardship and fever, and both failed.

Tuckey entered an embouchure of immense width and depth, discharging a volume of water with a rapidity of current sufficient to justify the expectation of finding a river of first-rate magnitude; but on ascending with great difficulty, not having the advantage of steam, they found it suddenly reduced to a narrow rocky channel terminated by a cataract. Beyond this, they traced a magnificent river one hundred miles, or two hundred and eighty miles from the coast. They were then obliged from exhaustion to return, and most of them died. Other attempts by Gray, from the west coast; Ritchie and Lyon by way of Fezzan, were equally unsuccessful.

In 1822, Clapperton, Oudney, and Denham crossed the Great Desert from Tripoli, and discovered the powerful kingdom of Bornù, situated on the borders of the large lake, Tshad. Respecting this noble sheet of water, however, very little information was obtained, except that it was "clear and remarkably sweet," which fact alone would justify the supposition that it is but the widening of a large river; probably the "Gir" of Ptolemy, and may prove to be identical with the great tributary of the Niger—the so-called Chadda.

The principal feature, however, of this expedition, which bears on our present purpose, is the journey of Clapperton through a large part of Sudàn westward to

Sakatùh, the chief city of the new empire of the Filatahs; where he ascertained that he was in the vicinity of the river traced by the unfortunate Mungo Park; perhaps flowing to the S.E. within one hundred miles of him. This knowledge, derived from Sultan Bello, led to the second expedition of that enterprising officer in the year 1825, in which were associated with him the amiable and accomplished Captain Pearce, and two other gentlemen, who all however died soon after the commencement of their journey from Badagry, in the Bight of Benìn, from whence they proposed to travel overland to Sakatùh. Clapperton was thus left to pursue his route, accompanied only by his faithful servant, Richard Lander; to whose name, and to that of Mungo Park, will be ascribed the glory of having discovered the course and termination of the hitherto mysterious Niger. The travellers arrived at Bussah, where the accounts previously received of the melancholy fate of Park were confirmed through the King and the natives, who adverted to the subject with great reluctance; they regretted the circumstance, and declared that they took the party for Filatahs, from whom they feared a predatory incursion, or they would not have attacked them. Clapperton crossed the Niger at Comi, the first ferry below the rocks and rapids, which extend a good way from Bussah.

Clapperton having died at Sakatùh, with some appearance of having been poisoned, Richard Lander traversed alone unknown countries, bringing with him

the papers and valuables of his beloved master. He very nearly discovered the course of the Chadda, having been within a short distance of Jakoba, which is on its banks; but was forced to return by a native Prince, who sent some horsemen after him. He subsequently returned to the coast by the same route that he had taken from it. Among Clapperton's papers was a chart drawn by Sultan Bello's orders, tracing the course of the Niger in Sudàn; on which was written: "This is the sea (river) of *Kowara*, which reaches Egypt, and is called the Nile." But Bello and his principal men declared that the Kowara entered "the sea" at Fandah, by which it is evident that they alluded to the continuity of that river with the Chadda or "bekki'n rua," "dark water," and that they knew nothing of their joint course to the sea, or "rua'n gìsheri," "salt water."*

* Bello, the Sultan of the Fulahs, Filatahs or Fellahs, told Clapperton that in the eastern part of Sudàn there were ninety-nine mountains, the names of which all began with F; but of these only three were known, viz: Fazuglu, Fanduflu and Fàffaklu; which we may imagine also to be the names of the rivers descending from them into the lakes Fittré and Chad. To these we may now add the Nufi names of the Chadda and the Niger, Fùrogi and Fùrodo.

It is funny that these Fellahs are so fond of the letter F; but unfortunate for Folly, that they could not furnish fuller facts for the following frivolous flight of fancy.

Fish, flesh, *and* fowl, *and* fruitful fields,
For fortune's fav'rite friend *or* foe
Fazuglu finds, Fanduflu *yields*—
Where Fur'ji, Fur'do Faff'klu flow, [*They*

About the time of Clapperton's second journey, Major Laing succeeded in reaching Timbaktùh, by way of the Desert, from Tripoli. He had been attacked and wounded by the Arabs; but persevered until he had attained the object of his mission, and gained for England the honour of having first discovered this long sought-for city; as Park had already done with regard to the Niger. It was, however, an equally dear-bought and empty honour, for he was murdered by the ferocious Arabs in re-crossing the Desert. His papers have never been recovered, though they were reported to have been taken to Tripoli.

A Frenchman, M. Caillié, also reached Timbaktùh; but his narrative is very meagre.

The termination of the Niger, still remained a subject for speculation, and many were the theories formed respecting it. Some held with the old opinions of the Arabs, that it joined the Nile of Egypt. Others that its waters were lost in the sands of the Desert, or being discharged into a large lake, in central Africa, were there evaporated. While its supposed southerly

They fecundate *to* furnish food
For far-famed Fellahs; first *who* fought,
For fierce *Dan* Fodio[a] free of *thought*:
Or fill full fast from foamy flood,
Foul feral Fittre;—fever-fraught.

*   *   *   *   *

[a] Sultan Bello's predecessor, who excited the Fellahs of Haussa to throw off the yoke of the Negro Princes, who grievously oppressed them about seventy years ago, according to Lander.

course, after passing Timbaktùh, inclined many to the belief that its outlet was to be found in the Atlantic. It is surprising that this, the most rational theory, did not obtain more favour. Reichard supposed its outlet to be there; and Mr. McQueen, in 1821, traced its course by itineraries with tolerable accuracy.

The period, however, had now arrived when this "*vexata questio*" should be set at rest.

Richard Lander, whose fidelity and perseverance had gained the approbation of the Government, offered his services to discover the termination of the Niger, by the obvious though hazardous alternative of embarking at Bussah, and following the stream in a canoe whithersoever it might lead him.

His brother John volunteered to accompany him, and having been furnished by Government with means, they commenced their arduous enterprise from Badagry, where they engaged some native attendants, who had served on the former occasion with Captain Clapperton.* Following nearly the same route taken by that officer from Badagry, the Landers came to the banks of the Niger at Bussah; where embarking with their four Negroes, in a small open canoe, protected only by umbrellas from the scorching rays of the sun and the

* They subsequently were also hired by Lander on the Liverpool Expedition. Pasco, the chief of them, was treacherously poisoned by order of the then King of Iddah, for having "shewn the white men the way up the river," which he believed they could not have found but for him.—W. A.

torrents of the tornado, they fearlessly descended the unknown stream. In passing the confluence of the Chadda, they ascertained, by paddling for some time against the strong current of that river, that their course could not be in that direction. On arriving near the commencement of the Delta, where the numerous diverging branches would have offered a choice of route to the sea, they were captured by the Ibu traders at the Kiri market; and taken to the chief, Obi; who delivered them for a ransom to "King Boy" of Brass-town, near the mouth of the principal branch of the Niger. This may be considered as a Providential circumstance; since, if they had passed unmolested, they might have selected a channel more promising in appearance than the Rio Nun; which would have led them by an unfrequented outlet, to the wide Atlantic Ocean; where they must inevitably have been lost, and their glorious achievement would have perished with them.

Thus the solution of the problem which has excited the interest of so many ages, has been accomplished by the most modest of means, while many costly and more imposing undertakings have failed. A solitary pedestrian discovered the long hidden Niger in its course through hitherto almost unheard of countries; and two unpretending young men, committing themselves in a frail barque to its mysterious bosom, were borne by it through unknown regions, a distance of more than six hundred miles, to its termination in the vast and "multitudinous" ocean.

On the return of the Landers, from their remarkable and successful discovery of the outlet of the Niger; they gave such a flourishing account of the quantity of ivory to be found on its banks, that some enterprising merchants of Liverpool—actuated by the spirit of legitimate trade, which had assumed in that city, the excitement of the former traffic in human beings—fitted out an expedition for the purpose of ascertaining and opening out the resources of the country.* In its commercial objects, this undertaking unfortunately proved a failure; since the quantity of ivory obtained, did not at all justify the reports which had been given by Lander. It must, however, be considered—in forming an estimate of what might be obtained, by what he saw—that in passing through the country the quantities he found were doubtless, to a certain extent, accumulations from the want of demand, and the difficulty of exportation.

This mercantile expedition—which Captain, then Lieutenant W. Allen, accompanied by order of the Admiralty, for the purpose of surveying the river—was composed of one small brig, to be stationed at the mouth of the river, to receive the expected cargo of ivory, and two steamers; the smaller of which—the first iron vessel that had crossed the Atlantic—was built by Mr. McGregor Laird, whose family were large subscribers to the expedition, and who himself bore a considerable share in the conduct of it, though the nominal command was held by Mr. Richard Lander.

The variety of preparation required for an enterprise of such a novel nature, together with the uncertainty of the proper time for navigating the river, caused it to arrive so late, that the flood had already passed its great height; consequently the vessels had to navigate a falling river, and were much impeded by shallows, so that on reaching the confluence of the Chadda with the Niger, one of them grounded, where she remained till the river began to rise again the following year.

The late season was also the most unhealthy; the fatal fever of the river soon attacked the crews, and out of forty-seven officers and men in the two steamers, only eight survived. Mr. Laird finding all hopes of a successful speculation to be fallacious, returned to England in the brig, which he safely navigated although this was his first voyage. Mr. Lander made another unsuccessful attempt in a commercial point of view; but something was added to geography; Lieutenant W. Allen having—though unaided—extended his operations above the confluence of the two rivers, to Rabba on the Niger, and about eighty miles on the Chadda; the principal points of which he laid down astronomically, and gave such a sketch of the channels as proved of some service to the succeeding navigators. Mr. Lander on his return to Fernando Po in the Alburkah, hoping to be more fortunate, hastily fitted out that vessel, and sent her under the charge of Mr. Oldfield—the surviving medical officer—to re-ascend the Niger; and he followed soon after with a launch and a canoe, and a

further supply of goods, which he imprudently displayed on a sand-bank before he had passed the Delta. He thus excited the cupidity of the natives, who attacked him from the banks, and in numerous canoes. Abandoning the launch, he attempted to escape down the river, keeping his pursuers at bay with a few guns, but was unhappily wounded by a musket ball, and survived but a few days after his arrival at Fernando Po, where lie the mortal remains of this amiable and enterprising traveller; surrounded now by many of our comrades, victims of the fatal climate of the Niger.

Mr. Oldfield, after surmounting very great difficulties, was obliged to abandon the river. The two steamers were left to decay at Fernando Po, and thus terminated this spirited, but unsuccessful and fatal enterprise.

The river had been subsequently navigated by Mr. Becroft, a veteran on the coast of Africa, to whose prompt exertions the 'Albert' was subsequently indebted for salvation. He succeeded in getting fifty miles beyond Rabba, when he was stopped by rocks and rapids which it was found impossible to pass.

We have thus endeavoured briefly, to make the reader acquainted with the progress of discovery, in this part of Africa, previously to the fitting out of the expedition of which the following pages are the narrative.

CHAPTER II.

The exploration of Africa desirable for nobler ends than the acquisition of wealth—Sir Fowell Buxton proposes "The Remedy"—Formation of the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade and the civilization of Africa—Lord John Russell's views on the Slave Trade—Proposes to send an Expedition to communicate with the interior of Africa, and to establish commercial treaties—Size and construction of the vessels—Arrangements for artificial ventilation suggested by Dr. Reid—Armament—Paddle-box boats—Officers appointed—Captain H. D. Trotter to command the expedition—The 'Wilberforce' touches at Kingston—Visit of the Viceroy—Proceedings at Kingston—Awkward mistake—The 'Wilberforce' arrives at Woolwich—H.R.H. Prince Albert visits the vessels—His interest in the expedition—Munificent present to the Commanders—Commissioners appointed—Scientific gentlemen attached to the mission—Detentions.

A THIRST for discovery, and the spirit of commercial enterprise, had stimulated all these attempts to penetrate into the interior of Africa. But a new and a better motive now arose to produce a far greater effort. England had shown her sincerity in the cause which she had undertaken—the suppression of the Slave Trade — by devoting to it her treasures, the lives of her sons, and the unremitting efforts of her Government. Melan-

choly proofs, however, were there, that so far from succeeding, we had by the very attempt, dictated by the purest humanity, become in some degree accomplices in the cruelties of the trade, while it did not appear that the number of victims was lessened. It was ably shown in a work on the subject by Sir Fowell Buxton, not only that the steps hitherto taken had not removed this foul disease, but the very means which had been employed for this end had very much aggravated the horrors of it, as he clearly demonstrated by a variety of harrowing details.

"It has been proved, by documents which cannot be controverted, that for every village fired and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargoes, or twice the number in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the wave of the Atlantic. But whilst the numbers who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated, on the contrary. The result is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers.

"I am driven to the sorrowful conviction, that the year from September, 1837 to September 1838, is distinguished beyond all other preceding years, for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes on human life."*

* Buxton on the Slave Trade, p. 235, 257.

Having thus shown the extent of the evil, this philanthropist proposed his Remedy, which had for its object the employment of her own resources for the deliverance of Africa.—By,

" Impeding the Slave Trade,

" Establishing legitimate commerce,

" Promoting and teaching agriculture, and

" Imparting religious and moral instruction."

For these purposes, he suggested two distinct kinds of preparation, viz:

" 1. An augmentation of the naval force employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and the concentration of that force on the coast of Africa, thus forming a chain of vessels from Gambia to Angola.

" 2. A chain of treaties with native powers in the interior, &c."

With the view of furthering these objects, a society was formed of noblemen and gentlemen—under the Presidency of His Royal Highness Prince Albert—of every shade of political opinion, which, indeed, was swallowed up by the absorbing sympathy which all felt in the holy cause of humanity. This was entitled, " A Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa." Having consulted on the best means to be adopted for carrying out their views, a deputation waited on Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, and recommended that an expedition should be sent by Government, with Commissioners empowered by her Majesty

to form treaties of commerce and for the suppression of the external Slave Trade, with the most influential chiefs on the coast of Africa and on the banks of the principal rivers.

This movement was followed by Lord John Russell's letter of 26th of December, 1839, to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in which his Lordship, with his usual perspicacity, gave a comprehensive view of the appalling increase of the Slave Trade; and showed that "the average number of slaves introduced into foreign states or colonies in America and the West Indies, from the western coast of Africa annually, exceeds 100,000." But, "the number of slaves actually landed in the importing countries, affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims." "No fact can be more certain, than that such an importation presupposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year without respite or intermission, to such an extent, as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate."

His Lordship, after observing that with the existing powerful stimuli to the prosecution of the Slave Trade, the whole British navy, employed as a marine guard, would scarcely be sufficient for its repression, then states that "Her Majesty's confidential advisers are compelled to admit the conviction, that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system, calculated to arrest

the foreign Slave Trade in its source, by counteracting the principles by which it is now sustained." For this purpose he proposes to send an expedition, which should ascend the River Niger and its great tributary streams, by means of steam-boats, with the view of entering into "commercial relations with the Chiefs and Powers on its banks, within whose dominions the internal Slave Trade of Africa is carried on, and the external Slave Trade supplied with its victims."

The Lords of the Treasury agreed to sanction the necessary estimates for such an expedition. But as there were no vessels in Her Majesty's navy of proper size and draught of water, suitable for this service, Captain Trotter and Commander W. Allen were sent by the Admiralty to the different sea-ports, to ascertain if any such could be found for hire, with a view to save expense. This search having proved fruitless, Captain Sir Edward Parry was directed by the Admiralty to report on the requisite number, size, and equipment of the vessels, "in order to afford a reasonable prospect of success in the object which Her Majesty's Government had in view, in sending an expedition up the River Niger."

In consequence of his recommendation, a contract was entered into with Mr. John Laird of Birkenhead, to construct three steamers of iron, expressly for this service. "The two larger to have very roomy and airy accommodations for their officers and crews, and to be exactly of the same size, rig and power, with all their stores precisely alike. The third vessel, intended

for detached service, to be much smaller and of lighter draught of water, but to have her stores of the same description as the other vessels."

They were accordingly built of the following dimensions :

	Albert and Wilberforce.	Soudan.
Length on deck	139 ft. 4 in.	113 ft. 4 in.
Breadth of beam . . .	27 „	22 „
Depth of hold	11 „	8 „ 8 „
Tonnage, about	457 „	249
Draught of water when ready for the outward passage	6 „	4 „ 6 „

In preparing vessels for such a peculiar service, various considerations were necessary. They were built of iron in order to have a greater buoyancy, and still further to enable them to go into shallow water, they were perfectly flat-bottomed, and without the keel fore and aft, as in ordinary vessels. While to supply this deficiency at sea, where it would be of serious inconvenience, two thick boards, nearly seven feet long and five feet deep, were made to slide up and down in water-tight cases in the middle of the vessels: that is, in the line of the ordinary keel, and placed at a suitable distance from forwards and aft. These were called "sliding keels," and were intended to keep the vessels from being blown to leeward; which it is evident would be the case with flat-bottoms not provided with such a contrivance.

To aid this, there was another plan, by means of which the rudder could be elongated vertically in a "seaway," to assist in the steerage when the after part should be lifted by a sea, so that otherwise the rudder would be out of water; or, in navigating the river among shoals and sand-banks when the sliding keels were up, this "rudder tail," by being raised to a horizontal position, would add materially to the power of the rudder.

To secure the vessels as much as possible against the consequences of striking on a rock, they were divided into compartments by strong iron partitions. In the larger vessels there were four of these, making five water-tight divisions; any one of which might have been filled with water, without its communicating with the others; thereby very much lessening the chance of sinking.

These however, had the very great disadvantage of cutting off the free circulation of air throughout the vessels. To remedy this defect, Dr. Reid devised a system of ventilation by means of fanners, worked by the engine when in action, by the current when lying in the river, or by hand if necessary; air was thus to be diffused through tubes to every part of the vessels. As however, the atmosphere on the coast of Africa, and especially in the River Niger, was supposed to be charged with deleterious gases, the air before transmission to "between decks," was made to pass through a large iron chest, placed on deck, and capable of containing

between two and three thousand cubic feet. The air in passing over chemical and other substances placed in this, was supposed to be deprived of its impurities, and in a great degree of its noxious properties.

In the 'Wilberforce,' however, it was found that a sufficient supply of air was not to be had by using the "*plenum impulse*," or sending in fresh air. The contrary or "vacuum," was therefore generally employed, to exhaust the foul air from all the remote recesses and stagnant corners of the ship. By these means whatever action took place, was certainly beneficial; whereas the "*plenum*" had no appreciable effect. Indeed the whole benefit—although the system was good in theory—bore no proportion to the disadvantage of occupying so much valuable space, or the still greater evil of detention in the preparation of the apparatus.

It is, however, easy to pronounce judgment after experience has been gained. The greatest praise and most grateful acknowledgements are due to the talented inventor, for the zeal and solicitude he displayed in trying to avert, by every means that science could devise, the baneful effects of the climate which too surely awaited us. The error was in proposing to dole out the "*pabulum vitæ*" by two small apertures to so many gasping throats, for whom the hatchways are not large enough in a hot climate.

Even in timber-built ships, there is always a considerable amount of deviation in the steering compasses, caused by the attraction of the large quantity of iron

used in the construction, and especially in the guns of a ship of war; now as the vessels of the Niger expedition were wholly of iron, the amount of attraction was so great as to render the compasses useless without the application of some corrective. This was done on the plan of Professor Airey, the Astronomer Royal, by placing two powerful bar-magnets in such positions, with respect to the compass, as to counteract the effect of the mass of iron, and to coerce it into the correct magnetic direction. To ascertain the proper positions in which these magnets should be placed, the vessel was swung to all the points, in still water, comparing at the same time a compass on board with one on shore, and altering the position of the magnets till the compasses agreed on all the bearings.

Each of the larger vessels had two engines, of thirty-five horse power; that is, an aggregate power of seventy horses, and bunkers to contain coals for fifteen days of twelve hours' steaming. The small vessel, one engine, of thirty-five horse power, and coals for ten days of twelve hours. The fire-places were adapted for burning wood. The engines being precisely similar in all these vessels, much space in stowage and expense were saved, as a smaller number of duplicate parts was required.

It was not deemed advisable to have engines of great power; because, in the first place, speed was not necessary in navigating an almost unknown river, where the numerous sand-banks and rocks required the utmost cir-

cumspection and caution. Larger engines would also have reduced the space for coals, while they would have consumed a much greater quantity. It must, however, be confessed, that the speed of the three vessels was less than it ought to have been. This was very apparent on our leaving England, when heavily laden; and little improvement was observable when they became light, causing our voyage out to be unusually long. There were, however, so many desiderata in such an undertaking, that it was difficult to adapt the vessels to every circumstance.

Although the mission was essentially one of peace, it was necessary it should have an imposing appearance. The armament of the two larger vessels was in each, one long brass twelve-pounder, two brass twelve-pounder howitzers, and four brass one-pounder swivels, besides musketoons and small arms. The 'Soudan' had one howitzer, and two swivels of similar calibre.

Instead of the ordinary covering to the paddle-boxes, Captain Smith's boats were adopted, which lying bottom upwards, served as a covering to the paddle-wheels, and being large and buoyant boats, easily turned over and lowered into the water, they proved of very great service, especially in the operation of bringing wood for fuel, &c.

There were several other ingenious contrivances, but their questionable utility did not compensate for the expense and sacrifice of time in preparing them.

They were square-rigged foreward and schooner aft,

with lofty masts, but from the peculiar form of the bottom, they could not be good sailers; and the want of the regular keel made them excessively *leewardly*. They were all, however, admirable sea-boats, as was proved by the little 'Soudan,' in a heavy gale of wind, when much larger vessels suffered severely.

There was little or no danger to be apprehended from lightning, even in the tornadoes, since, being of iron, the vessels presented so large a surface to the electric fluid, as to neutralize its effects by diffusion. They were, however, supplied with wire-rope conductors.

The vessels were launched at different periods in 1840; first the 'Soudan,' then the 'Albert,' and lastly, the 'Wilberforce,' on the 10th of October. They were taken into Trafalgar Dock Liverpool, for the purpose of fitting the rigging, engines, &c.

By November, most of the officers appointed to the expedition had joined their respective ships, and the greater part of the crews had entered. We proceeded with our operations undisturbed and unnoticed.

As it was important that Captain Trotter should be as early as possible at Woolwich, for the purpose of completing the arrangements for the armament, &c., all hands were occasionally employed to expedite the preparations of the 'Albert' and 'Soudan;' considerable delay, however, arose from the novelty of the apparatus for ventilation.

The 'Soudan' sailed for the Thames on the 28th of December; the 'Albert' followed, 11th of January, 1841;

and on Wednesday, the 17th of February, the 'Wilberforce' sailed from Liverpool for Kingston Harbour; Commander W. Allen having permission to visit Dublin for the purpose of consulting Professor Lloyd on the use of a newly-invented magnetical instrument.

The weather was unusually beautiful for the time of the year, a brilliant sun shone on our first step in a good cause, and cheered all hands with bright anticipations for the future. If omens were to be taken, our little voyage to Kingston was an epitome of our after proceedings.

Pleasant breezes, and a sea as smooth as glass enabled the 'Wilberforce,' on leaving Liverpool—being very light—to slip through the water at such a rate, that our crew began already to flatter themselves that their ship was a "clipper."

But we had hardly cleared Holyhead, when a south-wester came on, with a short chopping head sea, causing the vessel to tumble about in such an extraordinary way, and each sea that struck her, gave such a rude shock, that frequently during the night, the crew rushed on deck supposing she was thumping on a sand-bank. The quick uneasy motion, owing to the peculiar build and light draught of water, made many old seamen feel sensations they had long forgotten. To add to our difficulties, a part of the engine was discovered to be out of order in the night: and while we were obliged to "lie to" for it to be replaced, the strong wind and heavy sea drove our flat-bottomed vessel to leeward at a very rapid rate; so that in the morning we found ourselves in Drogheda Bay,

and had sight of the low land through the fog just in time to haul off shore, and steam against a strong head wind and sea. Seeing, however, some vessels of much greater draft of water than ourselves steering into Skerries Harbour, we followed, and soon anchored in a perfectly smooth basin. The sudden relief was such as we thought only a landsman could have appreciated. On the following day, we coasted along by Rock Bill, Ireland's eye, &c., and passing the beautiful Bay of Dublin, arrived in Kingston Harbour.

The number of visitors who daily crowded on board, brought from Dublin by the newly constructed railroad, testified the interest taken in the expedition; forming a contrast to the monotonous time passed in Trafalgar Dock at Liverpool, where our existence seemed to be unknown; and certainly if the good wishes and benedictions of the fair daughters of Erin could have ensured our success, they were not wanting.

During our stay, we were honoured with a visit of inspection by His Excellency Lord Ebrington, the Lord Lieutenant, and suite, who examined every part of the vessel, and were much interested by the novelty of the arrangements.

A ludicrous circumstance took place, which was afterwards a subject of frequent joking—among his messmates—with the *innocent* cause of it. The marine placed as sentry on the gangway, had orders to keep the "finest pisantry" from crowding on board, while we were lying alongside the pier, preparing for the Viceroy. Just as a

high dignitary of the church, attended by a party of clergymen, was going to step on board, the sentry stopped him, saying: "You cannot pass, Sir." In vain some of the clergy whispered to him: "It is His Grace," &c., &c. The stupid sentinel having never heard of such a person, nor was he acquainted with any official cocked hat of such a shape, said: "I can't help it, Sir; none but respectable people can come on board." One of the officers perceiving it, quickly rectified the mistake. His Grace expressed himself much gratified by the inspection of the various contrivances.

We sailed from Kingston harbour on the 27th of February, and arrived at Woolwich on the 4th of March; having touched on our way at Plymouth and Portsmouth. Found here the 'Albert' and 'Soudan,' getting ready for sea.

The near departure of the expedition excited such general and increasing interest, that great numbers of visitors came daily on board the 'Albert' principally, as she was in order. On the 23rd of March, H.R.H. Prince Albert did us the honour of inspecting the expedition. The 'Wilberforce' was not in such a state of forwardness as the other two vessels; having arrived later, we were in the confusion of preparation, with caulkers and other artificers on board, which was explained to His Royal Highness, who, however, with his usual gracious condescension, expressed his intention of visiting all the vessels.

The officers had the honour of being presented to His

Royal Highness, by Captain Trotter, on the quarter-deck of his ship. As another proof of the generous sympathy of this truly amiable Prince, we may here mention that he presented a handsome gold chronometer, by the best maker, to each of the three Captains.

We were here unremittingly occupied in completing the fittings, stores, &c., from the dockyard; and the armament from the arsenal. The apparatus for ventilation being still a source of considerable delay.

On a trial in the Thames, with a draught of 5 ft. 9 in. aft, and 4 ft. 11 in. forward, the 'Wilberforce' was found to have a speed, on an average, of seven knots; which was considered as much as could safely be used in an unknown river. Such a rate was not, however, to be expected with a greater draught of water, as it unfortunately proved.

As the vessels could not carry fuel for so long a voyage, coals were sent to the Cape de Verd Islands, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle. A fast sailing transport was also hired to take further supplies of provisions, stores, and coals, to enable them to fill up at the mouth of the Niger, and also relieve them there of such things as would not be required in the river, but which were to be deposited at Fernando Po, to await our return.

In sending vessels to a climate known to be fraught with so much danger to the European constitution, it was necessary to limit the white crews to the smallest possible number, consistent with efficiency. The regulation for

the usual complements for ships of war of their class was, therefore, departed from; and the crews of all the vessels were composed of officers, petty officers, and artificers, with a very few able seamen and marines, and a small party of sappers and miners. All were volunteers; and double pay was granted from the time of sailing.

Many of these enterprising men having become eventually victims to the destroying fever, we have subjoined, in the Appendix, a list of all the persons who were employed in the Niger; and it may afford even at this distance of time, a melancholy interest to numerous relatives, to know the circumstances connected with the termination of their earthly career.

The three naval Commanders, together with Mr. William Cook,* were appointed by Her Majesty as her Commissioners, empowered to make Treaties with the native chiefs on the coast of Africa, and principally on the banks of the Niger, for the suppression of the external Slave Trade, and for the establishment of lawful commerce.

Besides the complement of officers appointed by the Government, several men of science, sent out by the African Civilization Society, accompanied the expedition, for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the countries we might visit.

These were: Dr. Vogel, botanist; Dr. Stanger,

* This gentleman was honourably known to the public for his humane exertions in saving the lives of the crew of the 'Kent' Indiaman, burnt at sea.

geologist and explorer; Mr. Roscher, miner and mineralogist; Mr. Frazer, from the Zoological Society, London; and Mr. John Ansell, collector of plants.

The African Civilization Society, besides contributing largely to furnish extra surgical and scientific instruments and medicines, so as to increase the resources of the medical men for the benefit of the natives of Africa, placed at the disposal of the senior officer £1000, to be employed in aid of exploring parties, or in any other way that might advance the objects of the expedition. The Society in fact, shewed the greatest willingness to co-operate with the Commanders in forwarding the preparations, for which purpose a sub-committee was expressly formed.

As auxiliary to the benevolent purposes proposed by the African Society—but not officially connected with it, nor with the expedition to be sent out by H.M. Government; an Agricultural Society was formed, with the intention of establishing a model farm in such a locality as might be selected by the Commissioners. The Admiralty granted a passage to Mr. Alfred Carr, a West Indian gentleman of colour, who was engaged by the Agricultural Society as superintendent of the farm, and also permitted the stores, implements, &c., to be taken on board the vessels. Moreover, the Government sanctioned the Commissioners giving their attention to the interests of the Agricultural Society, in selecting and purchasing a spot suitable for the experiment.

Thursday, April 22.—H.M. steam-vessels, 'Albert

and Wilberforce,' left Woolwich, the latter drawing 6 feet aft, and 5 ft. 8 inch. forward. After touching at Portsmouth, to fill up with coals, they arrived at Devonport. H.M. steam-vessel 'Soudan,' Commander Bird Allen, had preceded us on the 30th of March for Devonport, and finally from England—in company with our transport, the 'Harriot'—on the 17th of April; having orders to make the best of their way to Porto Grande, in the Island of St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verds, our first rendezvous.

It was originally intended, that we should have sailed from England, so as to have entered the River Niger in March, which month was considered to be comparatively healthy; it was also believed, that although the river was then at the lowest, a sufficient channel would have been found for us to ascend. Subsequent information, shewed that the beginning of July, was the earliest time that the river could be entered, without risking the health of the crews by detention in the Delta.* This conclusion was arrived at from intelligence having been received, that the 'Ethiope' merchant steamer, drawing about the same as the vessels of the expedition, had not been able to get beyond the Delta, for want of water, until the beginning of July.

Now, that we were ready however, contrary winds caused a still further delay.

* Commander W. Allen, although he had previously been in the Niger, had no personal knowledge of its channels in the dry season.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from England—Madeira—Hospitable reception—A fair Nun—Santa Cruz—Teneriffe—Spanish beggars—Dress and peculiarities of the People—Iglesia Concepcion—Extraordinary Painting — Fish-market — Convents — Monks — Peasants — Cochineal insect procured for introduction into West Africa—Fertility of the Soil—Remarks on the growth and cultivation of the Opuntia Tuna and Cochineal—Museum—Remains of the Guanches—Arrival at St. Vincent—Cape de Verd Islands—Meet the 'Soudan' and 'Harriot'—Their stormy passage—Appearance of St. Vincent—Fort Major turned laundress—Magnetical observations—Botany and Geology of the Island—Vaccination introduced—Shooting "Cabras bravas" or Wild Goats—Its dangers—Fossil shells—Curious spider's nest—Seining—The doctor fish—Melancholy accident.

On May 12th at 6.50 P.M. the 'Albert' and 'Wilberforce' sailed from Devonport. In passing the several line-of-battle ships anchored in Plymouth Sound, they did us the honour to man the rigging, and give us three hearty cheers, with which flattering mark of sympathy, crowning the many we had already received from our country, we took leave of the shores of England.

We had a favouring breeze, and with sails and steam—economizing the latter when the wind freshened—we

made steady, though rather slow progress, in this first stage of our voyage; which had all the monotony of fine weather. There was nothing seen of interest, except now and then a dolphin, a few *Algæ*, *Nautili*, and the occasional phosphorescence of the sea, which was a subject of curiosity and admiration to those who had not witnessed it before.

21*st.*—Arrived in the evening at Madeira—our first stopping place for coals, &c. On rounding the eastern part of this lovely island, the admiration of all was kept in full excitement as we passed the numerous craggy points and opened little valleys and ravines, where every available spot is devoted to the production of the wine so highly prized in England.

The dazzling white quintas, convents and churches scattered over the base of the mountain, which rises to the clouds in sullen grandeur behind this smiling and varied scene, formed a powerful contrast with what our eyes had recently been familiar with on the shores of our own island; and this was carried to the utmost as the town of Funchal burst on our view, rivalling whatever has obtained the meed of celebrity in picturesque beauty in any part of the world.

Nor is the interest diminished on landing, to find a clean, well paved, *Portuguese* town; with suburban streets, in many places, shaded from the powerful rays of the sun by trellis-work, over which luxuriant vines creep and cling, with their pendant fruit-promising branches; while here and there the admixture of orange-trees,

bananas and pine-apples, with our own European fruits, astonishes the novice, who little anticipates so great a change in the botanical character. We visited again and with pleasure some of the many interesting localities in the neighbourhood; the Camara de Lobos; the mountain 'Jardin' of Mr. Veitch; the Church of Nossa 'Senhora do Monte'—where also is situated the beautiful and hospitable residence of Mr. Webster Gordon—overlooking, from its elevated position, the town and roadstead of Funchal; but above all the far-famed "Corral," where nature has concentrated a picture of such combined wildness and grandeur, as she only can display.

Madeira is so well known, and much of its flora, especially, has been so well described by Mr. Lowe, that it is unnecessary to enter on any description of either here, particularly as our stay was so short. Dr. Vogel had indeed, only time to take a few short excursions, and have the gratification of observing the *habitat* of many interesting indigenous species. But it may easily be imagined, that a locality so favoured by temperature, soil, aspect and great variety of elevation, would afford an inexhaustible field of interest to botanical researches. He, however, considered the flora of the island to be of a south European character, only a few plants, chiefly of *Dracænæ*, pointing to an extra European mixture.

We received very great kindness and hospitality from our countrymen resident on this island; and our grateful acknowledgments are particularly due to Mr.

Stothard, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, to Mr. Webster Gordon, and to Mr. Veitch. At a handsome entertainment given by the first, in honour of our beloved Queen's birth-day, we were nearly deprived of the pleasure of meeting the Commander of a Portuguese man-of-war brig, by a little misunderstanding, of which we were the innocent cause. It was, however, very easily remedied, and the gallant officer made a speech highly complimentary to the British navy, in which he said he was proud of the honour of having served under Sir Charles Napier.

Before saying adieu to this lovely island, curiosity led us to the convent, in the hope of seeing the once celebrated nun—Maria Clementina. We were informed she was no longer there; but our guide directed us to inquire for a Senorita Jeanevelle, who made her appearance, and looked interesting even in her sombre attire. She was rather fat, very fair, and certainly forty, with brilliant eyes, expressing anything but a predilection for monastic life.

In purchasing some very pretty feather flowers, we embraced the opportunity to ask her if she was ever allowed to go into society. She replied, that, of late, the discipline had not been so strict; and when very unwell, they were permitted sometimes to visit their families. A sigh, which accompanied this statement, revealed more than words could express, how little after all her heart was in the seclusion of the convent.

Tuesday, May 25.—The 'Albert' and 'Wilberforce'

proceeded on their voyage to Teneriffe, where we arrived on the 27th, in the evening.

There was of course a general landing as soon as the visit of the 'Health Boat' allowed communication. The various novelties in the island being of great interest, and as our time was but short, all were anxious to profit by it. We took in coals, verified again the rates of the chronometers, made magnetical observations, &c.; while those who were not engaged in the immediate duties of the ship, eagerly commenced researches in their favourite pursuits.

The town of Santa Cruz, like most of the Spanish settlements, has a very clean and regular appearance, being built in squares or quadras, the houses neatly painted with light yellow, or whitewashed, the external raised work of the verandahs being for the most part green.

The town extends in a direction from east to west, and looks well from the shipping. The landing at the Mole is sometimes attended with difficulty; and on most occasions, persons must expect to be more or less wet with the surf which eddies round the point.

The stranger no sooner puts his foot on shore, than he is surrounded by a crowd of idle striplings, who are ever officiously ready to proffer themselves as guides to the hotel, or to procure horses, &c. It is vain to select one; the crowd follows and thickens, to his great discomfiture, and amid a running fire of Spanish juvenile wit, he gladly takes shelter at the English Hotel. Here

his followers congregate outside, in the hope of benefitting by a little of the spare cash, which they consider Englishmen to be so abundantly blessed with. Another annoyance is the number of beggars, chiefly aged or diseased, who, with astonishing quickness, find out the arrival of *los Ingleses*, and come to solicit their mite. A mere trifle satisfies, and is, in most cases, of great assistance to these unfortunates.

The people have a very healthy appearance, nor does the indifferent food of the lower orders appear to operate against them much in this respect; although it is said that the major part of the poorer classes cannot afford to live at a higher rate than a halfpenny or penny per diem. Their diet consists in a species of lupin, and fish, with some fruit in certain seasons. As to clothing, the climate enables them to consider as superfluous all but the most scanty amount of garments; and numbers of children may everywhere be seen, with no other wearing apparel than a coarse straw hat, and the tattered remains of an old shirt, so entirely a thing of shreds and patches as to require no small address to keep it together in such a manner as may indicate its original form. The holiday attire of the Campañeros is a blue or green cloth jacket, with numerous small globular buttons, a pair of velveteen inexpressibles, slashed at the side, and reaching half way down the leg; under these they generally wear a pair of coarse linen drawers, which are somewhat longer: the stockings are thick, and come over the shoe, but are without soles;

sometimes boots made of goat-skins, and ornamented with red, are worn: A high-crowned hat, with a tassel or two, completes the costume. The towns-people do not differ very much from English in their style of dress, except that the poorer women wear a square light drab mantilla, edged with white, under a straw hat; and the Señoras and Señoritas one of silk, which—spread over the head, and falling down gracefully on the person—has a pretty effect. We need scarcely say that the softer sex have that peculiar and striking carriage, which is so much noticed in the mother country. The features of the people are good, especially the eyes, which are dark and lustrous.

The churches, two in number, are like most of these edifices in Catholic countries, the altars being gorgeously fitted up, nor are the usual rich decorations of Nuestra Señora forgotten.

The Iglesia de la Concepcion possesses some objects of interest to an Englishman;—the two flags taken in the unsuccessful attack made by Nelson on the town, when he lost his arm. They are placed over an altar on the left-hand side on entering the church, and have suffered greatly from the ravages of time: so much so indeed, that it is reported to be the intention of the authorities to enclose them in glass to prevent further decay. Many of our countrymen on visiting this, appear to be chagrined that the flag, which has braved a thousand years, the "battle and the breeze," should be in such hands; indeed, on two occasions, if the cicerone state-

ments can be credited, attempts have been made to remove them clandestinely. This feeling, however, is neither liberal nor creditable, since every nation unites in the sentiment, that those emblems which have been honourably won, should be held sacred. In the present case, it only causes the good people of Santa Cruz to imagine we feel too keenly a loss which arose from precipitancy; as it is well known they were picked up on the beach, where they were left in the hurry and bustle of the re-embarkation. In the same church is a painting, asserted by the guide to be a work of Raphaël. It is a gross conception of Purgatory, representing our Saviour at the upper part of the picture, and in the blood which flows from the places where he was nailed to the cross, a woman is seen besprinkling her hands; a little below, an angel is employed weighing *souls* in a balance, while a destroying angel stands, prepared with drawn and uplifted sword, to "commit" the sinner on his sentence.

The holy fathers occupy a conspicuous place in the lower part of the picture, being ranged on each side of the flames of Purgatory, ready, or in the act of helping the unfortunates out of the burning fire. One of them is seen tugging away at the ends of a string of beads and a crozier, which he had thrown on the neck of a little child. We also noticed that the fraternity—known by the shaven head—appeared to take the matter of passing through the ordeal, much more *coolly* than could have been expected from the nature of the element by which they were surrounded.

The fish-market, which is on the left-hand side of the road leading up from the Mole, appeared to be well supplied with a sort of mackerel and some species of bream, one of which is much esteemed. The former are tough and of indifferent flavour, they are called 'cavallos,' which answers to our name of horse-mackerel, but they are only one-third the size. The fish is mostly procured in the Bay during the night, and as lights are employed to allure them, the effect of the numerous flambeaux on all sides is very beautiful.

These are made of a sort of pine, containing a large quantity of resinous matter, which emits a brilliant light, and are held on the gunwale of the boat. Lines and hooks are used, and not the spear, as in most countries where such methods of alluring the fish are practised. The wood just referred to, is also most serviceable for the torches of travellers at night, and possesses this valuable quality—the heavier the rain, the brighter it burns; indeed it can scarcely be extinguished by immersion in water.

The gardens in the neighbourhood abound in good and delicious fruit; the orange, banana, and pa-paw—*Papaya carica;* the green fruit of the last is used medicinally, a single drop of the milky fluid, which exudes on puncturing the young fruit, being esteemed a specific for the cure of worms. When quite ripe, it is a grateful, rich fruit. The black fig is met with everywhere in the ravines, and appears to be in a wild state.

There are several convents, that of San Francisco being the largest. They are no longer what they were,

the haunts of mingled charity and vice; since the decline of Don Carlos's power in the mother country, they exist only in name. The numerous monks are now let loose on society, the Government allowing them a dollar per diem; which, if paid regularly, would more than suffice for their maintenance: the state of the exchequer in Spain does not, however, admit of this, and, as a consequence, they have become a pest to the place, since even their learning and outward pretensions to religion cannot hide their depravities.

The rides and walks in the island are very fine; particularly the road to Orotava, a little mountain village about ten miles from Sta. Cruz. Some of the ravines in the immediate vicinity are also well worth a visit, the scenery being wild and striking; many of the rocks are naturally excavated. Some varieties of cactus and aloe, as well as the *Euphorbia Canariensis*, are abundant; the latter is used by the natives to produce the effect of blisters, they call it Tabriba, the juice more diluted is said to be a useful remedy for obstinate ulcers, &c. The houses of the small farmers are very clean. We were induced to enter one, but even here we found the faithful dog ready to dispute our approach, until a pretty sample of the Pisanos, called out, "A'guarde perro estos son amigos, Ingleses," "Take care dog, these are friends, they are English." We met with a hospitable reception. The good folks pressed us to partake of the simple dinner, which being declined, some nice fruit was set before us. The ox

is here still used for thrashing corn, which is done by driving two or more, round a circle, over the sheaves. It was gratifying to notice, that the Mosaic injunction was still observed—"Thou shall not muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn." The dromedary is much employed here in conveying heavy goods, or for long journeys. They were brought originally from Fuerta Ventura, where they are said to be numerous, and found in a wild state. Large panniers are suspended across the hump, on which the bundles are secured. They carry a great weight, are very hardy, enduring and patient. In general a few bells are suspended to the neck, causing, as the animal moves, a not unpleasant tinkling.

Corn is grown in small patches all over the mountain sides, but as these are steep, it becomes necessary to raise up thick stone parapets, and the *débris* falling down and filling up the interstices to a level, enables the farmer to cultivate it. The soil is naturally rich, and well it is so, for the farmer is mostly poor, and without means to expend in improving. The system is bad. A proprietor allows the tenant the use of the land, for which the latter tills, sows, and reaps the produce; and, after all, only receives one half the sum it may realise. If a dry season occur, which is too often the case, the poor farmer is ruined. The owner of the estate has no consideration. We were informed by an Englishman the case of one of his tenants, who had been rather unfortunate, yet by an advance of

twelve dollars, the poor man was enabled to proceed with his labours, which remunerated all a hundred fold. Had it been a Spanish proprietor, the farmer would have been dismissed, and both parties would have suffered. Of late years the cultivation of the *Cactus Cocci* or *Opuntia Tuna*, and the Cochineal insect, have greatly superseded that of corn. The plants, indeed, are found to suit the climate, and are less precarious. The *Opuntia Tuna* is a species of *Cactus*, with broad, thick, oval leaves, very succulent, and covered with little masses of prickles, which irritate and inflame the skin where they come in contact. The plant requires three years to attain its proper size and growth. The Cochineal insect, *Coccus Cacti*, from which the beautiful purple dye is produced, and for whose nutrition the plant is cultivated, was originally and exclusively confined to South America. It was only introduced a few years ago into this island as a curiosity; and now it forms one of most valuable exports. The female, which alone yields the dye, is, when full grown, a small, oval insect, covered with a whitish powder. At first it is quite a microscopic object, but it gradually, though quickly enlarges, until it becomes about the size of a grain of wheat, rather rounder and thicker when it is matured, and fit to be removed.

The gathering is at two seasons of the year, June and September; the insects are then dried over a gentle heat till the juices are nearly, if not entirely dissipated. After being sprinkled with vinegar, and again dried in the sun,

they are ready for exportation. Ninety full sized insects weigh forty-eight grains, and after dessication, twenty-five; this gives about twenty-seven thousand to the pound of prepared insects.

They are propagated at different seasons, as the insects happen to be matured. A few full sized females are placed in a little piece of green gauze, and fastened to the cactus by one of the prickles; in a few days, if the weather be fine, the little insects—which are viviparous—begin to come forth, each one in a very fine transparent silky looking cocoon, which it almost immediately throws off. The female soon settles, but the male being winged moves about for the necessary offices. The former appears to change the cuticle at least once if not oftener, and it is this and the remains of the cocoons which form the chief part of the powdery substance which covers them. The female never stirs from the spot where it first commences to feed. The emigration of the young insect, as mentioned in popular works, by means of the spider's web, may occasionally take place, but not often, as they mostly settle on the nearest spot, from which they have no reason to move. It is probably sometimes wafted by the soft filaments of the cocoons—in which it is embedded—to a different plant, to which these fibres then readily adhere.

Before leaving Teneriffe, we visited the Museum which has been formed with some difficulty, and contains many objects of deep interest; among these may be mentioned the skeleton of a Guancho, the

extinct Aboriginal race of this and the neighbouring Islands.

Although there is reason to believe that this beautiful Archipelago was not unknown to the ancients, it is only in the middle of the fourteenth century that we begin to find any precise information relating to them. In 1341, an expedition from Portugal under the auspices of Don Alphonso IV., visited the islands, after which they were again lost sight of until the conquest of them by Bethencourt, the chronicles of which were written by his chaplains, Bontier and le Verrier, in 1402; these, and a variety of other authors of the period, or soon after the conquest, have furnished Monsieur Sabin Berthelot with materials for two very interesting papers,* from which we have taken the liberty of abstracting the following brief notice.

"These islands were, doubtless, peopled from the adjacent continent; and the Guanches or aboriginal inhabitants have left traces of resemblance. It is, therefore, presumable that they were inhabited long before our era, by people of Lybian race, who preserved until the close of the fifteenth century in their original purity, those primitive manners of which we find traces in the most remote antiquity."

All the authors who have written on the subject of the Guanches about the time of the conquest, give a romantic description of their chivalrous character; of the

* Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique de Paris.

virtue and beauty of the women, and the great strength, courage, and agility of the men; skeletons of the latter which have been found, justify the account of their great stature. Among the skulls found in the caverns of Teneriffe, one was very remarkable for the strength of the bones, and especially for its almost gigantic dimensions, which show that it must have belonged to an athletic frame, much above the ordinary height. It bore marks of many wounds, one of these was most extraordinary, and proved the robust organisation of the individual; this was a depression—caused doubtless, by the blow of a club or stone—extending along the inferior and exterior angle of the parietal bone, immediately behind its articulation with the temporal. It was so deep that the thumb might be placed in it, notwithstanding which, it appeared that the warrior must have lived long after the cure of this fracture, as all traces of it had been effaced by the reorganization of the bone. Their extraordinary agility and address are shown by an account given by Cada Mosto, who says that he saw at Madeira, a Canarian, who engaged to place himself at eight or ten paces from three men, who should each, as well as himself, be provided with twelve oranges, which he would throw at them successively without missing one; while he would ward off with his hands all those which they should throw. No person would try the experiment, from a confidence that he would be able to perform this extraordinary feat. Galindo also says, that it was a customary exercise among them, for two men to hold a long lance

as high as they could above their heads; while their companions would clear by successive bounds, three lances so held at different parallel distances. This interesting race is said to be extinct, in its purity, but their descendants are found mixed with Spanish blood; Monsieur Berthelot, says to their honour, they have more of the characteristics of the former than of the latter, in their carriage, lineaments, manners, and customs. Some few words of the ancient language are found mixed with the Castillian, and many of the proper names perpetuate the fame of their heroes. The Guanches of Teneriffe are —more than those of the other islands—distinguished by the preservation of the virtues of their ancestors; as they, also, the longest maintained their independence.*

Some portion of the population, even to the present day, in Teneriffe is found inhabiting caverns. The shepherd still excels in throwing the stone with precision, is swift of foot, and with the assistance of a light staff leaps with great facility the most dangerous precipices.

The name Teneriffe may be derived from Tinerfe the Great, the last prince who united in his person the sole sovereignty of the island, one hundred years before the conquest; previously to which desolating event, it would appear from tradition that these islands were very

* De Fuertaventura trigo,
De Lancerot cebada,
De Tenerife los hombres,
Las mujeres de Canaria.

populous. Viera says, that in Grand Canary there were no less than ninety thousand souls. The law did not permit polygamy. Previous to marriage, the *fiancée* was shut up for thirty days; during which time, she was fed on choice viands, in order that she might attain the condition of *embonpoint*, which would be her principal attraction in the eyes of the husband.

Friday, May 28th.—Sailed from Teneriffe. Our voyage of six days to the Cape de Verd islands was as devoid of interest as the preceding. Being in the trade wind, we went before it all the way, and arrived at Porto Grande in the island of St. Vincent on the 3rd of June, where we found Her Majesty's steamer 'Soudan' and the 'Harriot' transport, which had been here since the 22nd of May. They experienced a severe gale in the Bay of Biscay. The 'Harriot' lost some spars off deck, and part of her bulwarks. The 'Soudan,' was struck by a heavy sea on the quarter, and some of the woodwork abaft the sponson carried away; but her qualities as a sea-boat were admirable, and excited the surprise of all who saw her. During the whole of the 22nd, when many fine vessels were obliged to lay to on account of the heavy sea, she ran on with safety. One of the men was unfortunately drowned by accident on the 19th of May, soon after leaving Teneriffe.

The appearance of St. Vincent caused much disappointment. Instead of a verdant isle, rich with tropical productions, as some had been led by description to

expect, it presented a succession of volcanic ridges, arid ravines, and sandy plains.

Porto Grande is, however, a noble bay, situated on the north-west side of the island, and therefore well protected from the prevalent winds—the north-east trades. It is very spacious, and from its salubrity and intermediate situation within the tropics, it was considered by Captain Trotter to be a very advantageous position for the necessary operations of thoroughly cleaning out and re-stowing the holds, and transferring to the 'Harriot' the stores, &c., for which we anticipated no further use before we reached the coast of Africa. As this involved a considerable exposure of the crews to a hot sun, it was a good preparation of their constitutions. The water is scarce and bad, and the stunted brushwood quite unfit for fuel. The chronometers were again verified; magnetical observations made, and Commander W. Allen observed the declination of the magnetic needle with a new instrument—the transportable Magnetometer—which had been completed expressly for this expedition, by M. Weber, of Göttingen, the inventor.

The town consisted of about sixty dirty and uncomfortable mud huts, which are seen not far from the shore. The Governor inhabits a somewhat superior building, but in many respects, is not much better off. The people of the place—Portuguese, Creoles, and Negroes—number about five hundred. They looked healthy, though spare, which is not to be wondered at, as they are dependent during great part of the year on

the Island of St. Antonio, for supplies of food, which they receive in exchange for the Lichen Orchilla, a beautiful purple die growing abundantly in the rocks, and lime, prepared by burning shells. The Governor, Capitan L. Bans, appeared to be an affable person, and anxious, so far as his means would enable him, to be civil. He is of English extraction. His very small salary is so irregularly paid, that he must at times not only have great difficulty in maintaining the dignity of his office, but be put to much personal inconvenience.

A coloured officer, who came on board in the double capacity of Master of the Port and Fort Major, amused every one by suddenly merging his official visit and capacity into that of agent to the laundress, by saying: "Me next man gubberna, me Major of de Fort, and my wife very happy to wash officer clothes."

The naturalists profited by our detention, to make longer and more fruitful excursions than they had been able to do at Madeira and Teneriffe. Dr. Vogel anticipated but little promise in the burnt-up and arid appearance of the island. He commenced his researches at the only green spot he could see, in one of the two principal valleys, descending from the central mountain region, and found there *Tamarix Senegalensis*, a shrub from six to seven feet high, and sometimes as a small tree. It is the only plant indeed, almost the only object in these ravines, which casts a shade.

" After a search of four hours, climbing several hills

and crossing as many valleys, I only met with two plants of the same *Tamarix*, and a low shrubby-like *Labiata* (*Lavendula formosa*) almost dried up, with a few leaves, and some blossoms just opening. This plant was, however, found subsequently to spread over the whole island. The desert, in its most desolate parts described by travellers, cannot exhibit a more melancholy aspect than this part of St. Vincent. Yet the soil ought to be fertile; it is conglomerate of fragments of basalt of various sizes in a loamy and chalky soil, closely covered in many places with dried grass—the natural hay—furnishing a scanty fodder to cattle and goats when they have not the *Tamarix* to browse on. In fact, the soil only wants water; and we may guess from such remnants of vegetation, how prolific it must be, when supplied with some moisture during the brief rainy season; which according to the natives, lasts from the beginning of August to the middle of October, though even then the rain is not always abundant.

"To these plants of the plain before mentioned—if such a term may be applied—where there is little besides hill and dale—but few more were subsequently added; a small *Euphorbia*, perhaps *prostrata* or *serphyllifolia*, believed to be new; a few sea-shore plants, especially *Zygophyllum album* and *simplex*, and *Cassia obovata*, just then in blossom and fruit, and extending from the shore, about six hundred feet up the side of the mountains."

This scanty harvest below, induced the Doctor to

search in the higher regions, for more botanical treasures; but even there he was but little rewarded for much exertion. "The mountain chain, bordering the western side of the principal valley, rising frequently to one thousand five hundred feet, only afforded a dozen species on the northern declivity. Two spots, however, were better furnished; that is to say, the two most elevated ridges situated towards the middle of the island. The highest of these can boast of being the best clothed with vegetation, and hence its name 'Monte Verde.' This rock of basalt, topping a gradually ascending table-land, rises according to barometrical measurement to two thousand five hundred feet; and is the only mountain on the island generally enveloped in clouds. Consequently its upper half is found to have many well watered spots, while every other part is burnt by drought.

"It is difficult to state precisely the difference between the vegetation of the lower and the upper regions. But it appeared that many plants flourishing in the mountain, did also grow in the lower country, though now dried up. As the *Tamarix* was of the plain, so was an *Euphorbia*—perhaps the only one of the island, commonly two or three feet high, but sometimes a small tree, with some twenty or thirty leaves among the blossoms at the ends of the branches—characteristic of the mountains. It gave an agreeable verdure to the clefts, it abounded in the upper valleys, and reached to the very top of 'Monte

Verde.' It appears to be the same found by Brunner in St. Jago, and mentioned as *Euph. genestoides.?* Doctor Vogel thought it to be an undescribed species. A spreading, creeping, branching, completely leafless *Asclepiadea*, occurred frequently at an elevation of five hundred feet, on small flats, or hanging from rocks, sometimes with white flowers at the ends of the branches. A handsome *Statice*, a *Companula*, related to *dulcis*, a *Labiata* with red flowers, and coriaceous leaves. *Lavendula*, a *Sida*, which is probably new, with a *Linaria*, *Borago Africana*, *Echium*, *Tribulus terrestris*, *Achyranthes aspera*, *Lotus*, half a dozen *Compositæ*, a shrubby *Urtica*, a flowerless *Sempervivum*, and a few *Gramineæ*, and *Cyperaceæ*, formed an agreeable spectacle in this region, such as one would hardly have expected on an apparently desert island.

" The general aspect of vegetation was very European, enhanced by *Samolus Valerandi*, *Nasturtium officinale*, and *Plantago minor.?* In these situations were some cultivated plants; but they looked, at least then, very indifferent. Beans, especially lablah, maize, cucumbers, a few bananas, cotton, ricinus, and batatas, seemed to be the chief, but scarcely in sufficient quantities for the inhabitants. The bananas furnished to us, were said to come from St. Antonio. There were also a few *Sycamores*, and *Jatropha curcas*, and there are said to be some *Guavas* and *Papayas*. A creeping *convolvulus* was much cultivated, as the natives asserted, for the purpose of thatching.

"Of *Cryptogamia* this island is proportionally still poorer; four ferns, all at above four hundred feet, a few *Conferva*, perhaps three or four mosses on the top of 'Monte Verde,' all without fructification, and *Algæ* on the sea-coast very sparingly. On the whole, eighty or ninety *Phanerogamia* were collected in flower. Of insects, chiefly flies and grasshoppers were found, few beetles."

Roscher and several of the officers, visited a thin bed of lime-stone on the south side of the bay, and which abounds in varieties of *conus, buccinium*, and *murex*. On the sea-shore this bed lies horizontally six feet above the level of the sea; but it is gradually upraised by tufa —cut through by basalt, to the height of forty feet on every side. This bed and some few volcanic cones at different points of the island, form the chief geological subjects of interest. The formation seems to be of the older lavas, traversed in all directions by basaltic dykes. The summits of the mountains are nearly all capped with basalt.

Dr. MacWilliam, senior surgeon of the expedition, and Mr. Marshall of H. M. Ship 'Soudan,' vaccinated a number of the children, thereby preserving them from a disease, which once introduced here, commits such fearful ravages; and yet nothing is done by the parent Government to introduce or continue such a simple process.

One of our officers started—attended by active guides —on a two days' zoological ramble on the mountains, in

search of wild goats (*Cabras bravas*), &c., little anticipating the sort of ground he would have to pass in pursuing them. At first it was found to be quite impossible to follow in the footsteps of the adventurous mountaineers, who, accustomed to spend days in these wild regions, looking for stray goats, acquire great agility, sometimes jumping with the utmost *sang froid* from one part to another of frightful precipices; or twisting with eel-like dexterity, round overhanging rocks, where the loss of self-possession for a moment would ensure destruction. The first day was almost lost in vain endeavours to approach the animals; on the second, with great difficulty, a single but ineffectual shot was obtained. In descending the mountain, the party at one time was in a situation of great peril. To avoid passing near the edge of a very steep and dangerous precipice, our countryman had taken a rather circuitous route, where the difficulty was apparently less; unfortunately the surface over which he was walking, happened to be the *débris* of the surrounding rocks, and just before he had reached a point which appeared to be firm ground, the mass on all sides began to move, at first slowly, but quickly increasing in velocity downwards; the guides observed the danger, which in a few moments would have ended fatally, and with that ready tact, coolness and skill, only acquired by being much inured to such occurrences, one of them slipped down to a spot some distance below, where a rock afforded a standing place.

There he awaited the coming mass, and by suddenly thrusting out his long hunting staff, enabled our friend to withdraw himself from his unpleasant predicament. In less than a minute he must have inevitably followed the masses of broken rock and *débris*, which sliding down, were borne over the precipice below; it was certainly not without feelings of thankfulness that he returned to the plain.

At the hut of a negro couple, who superintended the Governor's little patch of vegetables, the party were hospitably entertained. In the evening all slept in the same compartment; the black couple, children, guides and our sportsman, but neither the visits of the fleas—both strong and numerous—nor the discussion of the man and his wife, as to whether "El Senor Branco" was a Christian or a heretic, could prevent him from enjoying a refreshing sleep, interrupted only by visions of precipices, and hair-breadth escapes.

A very curious specimen of spider's nest is met with in one of the valleys near the mountains. It is found attached to a sort of *Cassia*, and is in the shape of a perfect cone inverted; the upper and largest part, which has a lid, being about two-thirds of an inch in diameter; it is made of a white silky tissue, externally worked up with some viscous fluid to give it firmness and resistance to water, while the inside is filled with numerous eggs placed in a quantity of brownish coloured, very fine and soft silk. When the

young mygalia are hatched, they feed on each other until one of them has worked a small aperture through the top, by which the remainder escape.

Although during the day all hands had plenty of employment, at night the amusement of fishing with the seine brought out a goodly party of volunteers. The figures of the men running past the fires on the shore, and their noisy mirth, making quite a relief to the monotony of the bay. A very curious fish, called by the natives the "doctor fish" (*Axinurus*), abounds here, it has on each side of the tail a little lancet-shaped spine, which, when laid hold of, it raises, and unless care be used it will inflict a disagreeable wound; the colours are a very pretty brown and yellow.

Fishes of many sorts are very plentiful, especially mullet, (*Mullus Barbatus*, *Thinnus*, *Chætodon*), and a fine-flavoured description of rock cod, curiously marked with scarlet, and minute blue spots.

11*th*.—A sad accident occurred this afternoon on board the 'Wilberforce,' which threw a gloom over all her crew, James Morley, a carpenter's mate, while working over the bows of the vessel to stop a small leak where the wood joins the iron at the cutwater, fell into the sea, and after struggling for a few moments, disappeared. The boats were all away from the ship, and the only person whose swimming qualifications could have been useful, a powerful man of colour, was deterred from jumping overboard after him by the fear of sharks, which abound in the bay; some having been

seen near the vessel a short time previously, which no doubt prevented others, who, though inferior performers in the water, would have ventured their lives for a kind shipmate. After some time he was dragged up and every means used to resuscitate him, but in vain. Commander W. Allen, was on board the 'Albert' at the time, and his anxiety may be conceived, when he observed the bustle on board his vessel, without knowing the cause, or being able to get on board; the 'Albert's' boats being also absent.

Poor Morley's death was deeply regretted by all on board, as he was universally esteemed for his good conduct, industry, and civility; the only attention that could mark the respect of his messmates, was paid in bearing his remains to their last resting place. Every person who could be spared of the officers and men from all the ships were present on the melancholy occasion. His younger brother, to whom he was much attached, and who had entered on board the 'Wilberforce,' to be with his only friend and protector, as his parents were dead, was among the spectators of the tragical event, and it may be imagined how intense must have been his suffering, especially on finding that not only himself, but all others were for some time deprived of the power of rendering any assistance. What added to the difficulty and delay in recovering him, was the fact that knowing the exact spot where he fell overboard, and the water in the bay being so clear that the stones at the bottom could easily be seen, every one was naturally

looking for his body in the neighbourhood of that spot; whereas, he was at length found at some distance, which must be accounted for, either by a little underset of current, or that a flaw of wind had altered the position of the 'Wilberforce.'

The unfortunate youth, his brother, soon afterwards fell into such a melancholy state of mind, bordering on imbecility, that it became necessary, on our arrival at Sierra Leone, to send him to England.

While lying at this place, Captain Trotter issued general directions for the better regulation of the conduct of the officers and men, in the trying circumstances in which we might be expected to be placed, the principal object of which was, to secure if possible, the health of the crews, by preventing unnecessary exposure, &c.*

* See Appendix.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from St. Vincent—Watering at Tarafal Bay—St. Antonio—Orange groves—Plants—Phosphorescence of the sea—Luminous acalephæ—Precursory signs of a tornado—Curious appearance of the sea—Sierra Leone—Polite attentions of the acting Governor—Engage the interpreters and Krumen—Ludicrous names—Schooner purchased—Free-town—Markets—Abundance of fruit—African fruit-sellers—Violent tornado—Some Aku people killed while worshipping the lightning—Awful spectacle—Botany—Liberated Africans—Remarks on the condition of the colony—Missionary labours—Flight of locusts—Leave Sierra Leone—Arrival at Cape Mesurado Liberia, prospects of its advancement—Vegetation—Soil—Leewardly character of the vessels—Sinu River—Intermarriage of Fishmen and Blue-Barra people.

Wednesday, June 16.—In the evening of this day we had completed all our preparations except water, of which none was to be procured at this island; we were therefore obliged to separate from the 'Albert;' which vessel having sufficient for the passage, sailed for Sierra Leone. The 'Soudan' and transports were ordered to make the best of their way to Cape Coast Castle.

In order to obtain a supply of that most essential article, especially in a tropical climate—where water is

appreciated in a way that can hardly be conceived in our colder regions—it was necessary to go to Tarafal Bay, in the island of St. Antonio, where we arrived too late in the evening to distinguish the watering-place, so as to be able to take the best berth for our operations.

17th.—In the morning we discovered the watering-place, marked by a little plantation a short way up the hill, on this otherwise barren part of the island. The water is found in a scanty little brook, at an inconvenient distance from the shore; we therefore had to conduct it to a reservoir lower down; where, however, the soil was of such a thirsty nature, that a large portion was lost before we could fill the casks by means of an engine and hoses leading to the boats.

A schooner, of a very suspicious appearance, arrived with her decks crowded with men enough for any pirate. A boat was sent to examine her, and it appeared by the papers, that the vessel—which was a captured slaver—had been sold to a Spaniard, on condition that he should take the accumulated prisoners from various slave vessels to the Havannah. The captain had formerly commanded a schooner in this abominable traffic; but said, that having married the daughter of the Governor of Bonavista, who had so great a horror of the practice, he had yielded to her prejudices and solicitations, though not convinced by her arguments, and had consented to follow in future a more legitimate mode of commerce.

St. Antonio is at once the most beautifully diversified and the most productive of the Cape de Verds. It is well

covered with trees, and useful vegetables are cultivated without much labour. Oranges, limes, bananas, plantains and yams are plentiful at most seasons. Of late years it has produced a fair quantity of cochineal. Though not long introduced, it is found to answer admirably, and as the cactus is everywhere rapidly extending, the insect will be a valuable addition to the slender exports of the place.

In the evening, some of the officers took a stroll to the neighbouring quintas; at one of which they had the pleasure of passing a few hours in the cool refreshing shade of an orange grove, where a Portuguese "Cantador" accompanied by his guitar, sang some very pretty and enlivening airs, of which "Donna Maria da Gloria," was a frequent theme; while the beams of the silvery goddess of night faintly struggled through the surrounding foliage, giving it so much the character of romance as to enable them for a little space to forget the awful reality in which they were soon about to be engaged.

On the south side of the bay, a lime-stone bed was found on a cliff about twenty-five feet above the sea, containing some very large specimens of *Buccinium* and *Conus*. Close to the shore were many *Asclepias gigantea*, the shining coriaceous leaves of which attracted notice even from on board ship. The plantation consisted chiefly of some sugar-canes, cotton, papaya, citrons, guava, ricinus, curcas and figs. Higher up the valley, bananas were principally grown, as well as *Cassia occidentalis, Cocos* and *Capsicums*. Amongst the plants on the sandy shore,

were frequently *Argemone*, *Heliotropium*; a *Sonchus*, several grasses, &c. The other indigenous plants correspond mostly with those of St. Vincent, but flourish better here: the same *Sida* was common; the usual *Euphorbia*, *prostrata?* *Cassia obovata*; *Tribulus terrestris*; the leafless *Asclepiadea* of St. Vincent; the *Borago Africana*; *Tamarix Senegalensis* were also found here. In that part of the plantation nearest the shore there is an *Indigophera*, a new species of *Phaca*, *Phaca micrantha*, and a species of *Plumbago*, which if *scandens*, mentioned as belonging to St. Jago, must be indigenous on these islands.

The brook in the main valley was full of bamboo, which looked very pretty, especially when intertwined with convolvulus, near a small cascade. Along the brook were also an *Epilobium*, *Plantago*, *Cyperus*, *Samolus valerandi*. *Orchilla* is chiefly exported from this island.

Friday, *June* 18.—Having with difficulty completed our water, we sailed at 1 P.M. We had at first very light airs; but on clearing the land, the trade-wind blew with great force, accompanied by a very heavy chopping sea; which together with the "top hamper" of a large quantity of coals on deck, caused us to roll very heavily, whereby the head of the foremast was supposed to be sprung; and we were for some time in a most uncomfortable condition, till finding it was not possible to weather St. Jago, we were obliged to alter our course and get into smoother water.

The brilliant phosphorescence of the sea this evening

attracted our attention. The luminosity was so great, that by its reflection, alternate light and shade were strongly marked on the lower studding-sail, as it flapped backwards and forwards in the light flaws of wind; and some of the water having been carefully examined under a powerful compound microscope, two very minute species of gelatinous animalculæ were discovered, one of these was a microscopically small *Medusidæ*, of which some were in clusters, others single, and yet when magnified four hundred times, did not look larger than a grain of sand, yet each produced a scintillation of light. The other more scarce species was an elongated *Polypus*, resembling a series of small tubes placed in, and graduated one above the other, and somewhat convoluted. In this experiment, as in all others, it was necessary to agitate the water to elicit the phosphorescence.

21*st.*—During the last two days, we have passed a great number of *Campanulate Acalephæ* of almost every colour; but the most prevalent had a disc of reddish-brown or yellow, in diameter from one-fourth of an inch to two inches and a half. In one which we examined, the colour seemed to depend on the contents of the stomach which was a yellowish fluid. Some others, at night only emitted a phosphorescent light on being moved about in the water; and many were observed near the ship, the size of the luminous portion appearing to increase or diminish with the contractions or dilatations of the gelatinous mass.

The N.E. trade-wind lasted only a few days after

leaving the Cape de Verd Islands, we lost it about the latitude 14° North, and longitude 23° West; after which the wind was variable, principally from the S.E.; and on nearing Sierra Leone, we had occasional gusts from S.W. with heavy rain.

The first tornado which saluted our approach to the coast of Africa, was on the morning of June the 23rd, at 8.30 A.M., in latitude 13° North, and longitude 18° West. It was preceded by all the indications which, to a person accustomed to them, would be received as sufficient warning. There generally appears at first, a tumultuous assemblage of clouds in all parts of the heavens; these gradually—as if by concert—hurry towards the east, where they assume their stations; forming by degrees a long low arch, extending about six points of the compass. In proportion as the lower edge of this becomes more defined, and increases in the intensity of darkness, so may the near approach of the tornado be expected; and almost immediately after the complete formation of the arch, the squall of wind bursts upon the vessel, and woe betide her if sufficient precautions have not been taken to avoid the effects of its fury after such ample notice has been given. Vessels, the fate of which remain unknown, may have been the victims of such neglect; or from having underrated the power of the winds in these storms, which indeed have their variations in strength and duration; but they are always appalling, preceded as they are, by a breathless atmosphere, and apparent stagnation in all things, as if mute nature awaited the fearful

catastrophe. The universal stillness is only broken by the solemn preparatory note of distant rumbling thunder, accompanied by fitful flashes of lightning. Not long, however, does "mute expectation wait;" the imprisoned wind rushes through the low, dark portals of that awful arch, compressed as it were, and constrained to a horizontal direction; its approach is palpable for miles in distance, but for a very brief space in time; levelling all distinctions among the o'ertopping waves, by cutting off their summits, and carrying them far away in the form of "spoon-drift," it creates a mist which renders every surrounding object indistinct. Meanwhile, the opening heavens deluge us with torrents of rain, we are stunned with thunder of such depth of tone, blinded by lightning of such vividness and rapidity of succession, as can only be conceived by those who have witnessed the war of elements in a tropical climate. The spectator of such a scene, let his heart be ever so unreflecting or callous, will not fail in this wondrous moment, to bow in spirit to the Almighty Ruler, who "rides the whirlwind and directs the storm." The fury of the tornado lasts but a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, and is followed by some hours' rain; it then clears up and the temperature is delightful. It is usual to prepare for these visitants by furling everything, except the foretopmast-staysail, or some other head-sail, which flaps idly till it feels the first overpowering force of the gust, when it instantly bellies forward to bursting, and, aided by the helm, "pays the vessel off." She flies before the wind while it lasts,

accompanied by the blinding "spoon-drift," the wild screams of sea birds, and the roar of the electric strife overhead: nature then assumes her placid aspect, we set our sails, and continue our course "in gladness."

The invariable direction of the wind on the coast of Africa, E.N.E., during these tornadoes, causes every vessel to run away from them without danger, as they blow from the shore; and their short duration does not carry them far out of their course. As our ships were of iron, some apprehended greater danger from the lightning; but this very fact, perhaps, was the cause of safety—humanly speaking—for they were complete conductors, fore and aft, and there was possibly a constant current of the electric fluid, passing through them during the continuance of the tornado.

We passed a quantity of the so-called "whales' food," a collection of small brown particles, like dust, some floating on the surface of the water on examination appeared to be minute filamentous *Confervæ.* The increased temperature of the sea shewed we were within the influence of the Gulf-stream, though little of the gulf weed (*Fucus natans*) was to be seen. When passing the mouths of the rivers Nunez and Ponga, even at the distance of sixty miles from land, a long line of foam was seen, like breakers, marking the boundary of the strife between the sea and the immense volume of fresh water poured from these rivers, and by which it is overcome.

Saturday, June 26.—On approaching the anchorage at Sierra Leone, all were agreeably surprised with the

rich and varied appearance of the settlement and surrounding country. In passing along, on the right hand, various villages are observed, laid out in neat order; with the large and graceful banana tree, in the small patches of well cultivated ground attached to the huts, and other indications of order and some industry; while the mountains, well-wooded and rising gradually as a background, afford a pleasing picture, quite at variance with the idea one is apt to form of Sierra Leone, from its charnel-house character. But we were now in the most favourable period for seeing nature bursting forth in luxuriant vegetation, and resplendent with the full tropical freshness of the commencing rainy season.

The 'Albert' had been here two days; and three days after our arrival, the 'Soudan' was obliged to put in for coals, having been separated from the transport, which was to have accompanied her from Porto Grande to Cape Coast Castle. We found that Mr. Carr, the Queen's Advocate, brother to the superintendent of our Model Farm, was Acting-Governor, in consequence of the death of Sir John Jeremy. On presenting our letter to his Honour, from Lord John Russell, he showed every disposition to afford us all the assistance in his power for the furtherance of the objects of our visit. He said in a conversation on the subject of intercourse with the interior, it was his intention to renew the communication with the large and important town of Timbo; which had formerly been frequent, but had been broken off by the Mandingoes, and other intermediate nations. We

agreed, that in the event of our reaching the upper parts of the Niger, it would be desirable to send a messenger to Sierra Leone by that route; and fortunately a very intelligent native of Timbo, named Mahomed Lamina entered at the last moment before our departure, as interpreter on board the 'Wilberforce,' with a view of undertaking this journey, which he had frequently made, being well acquainted with the country.

One of the objects of our visit to this place, was to procure about one hundred Negroes, to be employed in various departments of the expedition. Of these the greater number were Krumen, to assist in the working of the vessels, and especially to save the white men from exposure to the sun and heavy rains. A considerable number of these men are always here waiting for employment; having, as it were, devoted themselves to the English; and both men-of-war and merchant ships take a gang on their arrival on the coast, for the purposes before mentioned. There appeared, however, to be some prejudice among them, and a dislike to river navigation, so that the best men did not come forward very willingly at first; nevertheless our party, under "Jack Andrews," were a fine set of fellows, active and independent in their looks, but civil and hard-working. The English names by which they were entered, and known on the ship's books, are most amusing. Here you find Jack Frying-pan taking precedence of King George and Prince Albert; and Jack Sprat, Bottle-of-Beer, or Tom

Tea-kettle, jostling with Prince of Wales, or Duke of York :—Jack Andrews was taken as the headman ; one of his best "boys" was Sam Lewis, who subsequently proved a most diverting fellow, and a very accomplished mimic and actor.

In addition to the Krumen for working the vessels, we required some liberated Africans to act as interpreters with the various nations we expect to visit. As much depended on the care with which these persons were selected, Mr. Schön had been previously written to, and most readily had undertaken the task. This gentleman, a German by birth, had resided here a number of years as Missionary, and was consequently well acquainted with the African character, and many of the languages. He was engaged to accompany the expedition, with a view of ascertaining for the Church of England Missionary Society, what facilities there might be for the introduction of the Gospel among the nations of the interior of Africa. Mr. Crowther, an intelligent and well-educated native, was associated with him as catechist.

Mr. Schön embarked in the 'Wilberforce,' where he acted as chaplain. Mr. Crowther joined the 'Soudan.'

We found that Mr. Schön had a large number of volunteers on his list. From these were selected thirteen of the following nations, which we judged to be most required, namely : — Ibu, Kakanda, Yàrriba, Bornù, Eggarah, Haussa, Nufi, Benìn, and Filatah ; the latter

was the before-named Mahomed Lamina, the only one who had visited Timbaktùh. He was far superior to all the others in intelligence, having had a tolerable Mussulman education. He told us, that he had kept a journal in Arabic, of his former travels; but unfortunately, it was in the possession of his brother, who was away from Sierra Leone.

Besides these, fourteen other liberated Africans—some of whom had their wives and children, were engaged by Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the Model Farm, as labourers, &c., for that establishment. These were sent on board a small brigantine, which had been purchased to serve as a tender, and the command given to Lieutenant Harston, with a party of men from the 'Albert.' Having formerly been a condemned slaver, it required some time to clean her out and fit her for the reception of the people.

Free-town, the principal settlement in the colony of Sierra Leone, is sufficiently elevated above the sea to secure it from the evils of swamps and stagnant water in its immediate neighbourhood; but the long, low, flat land of the opposite, Bullam-shore, frequently sends over its noxious exhalations, to the detriment of health.

The town is clean, and well laid out; the principal streets being very broad and strait, especially that part inhabited by Europeans and the more important of the native traders, whose houses are generally detached, and surrounded by numerous trees.

The cottages of the liberated Africans, and numerous Krumen, are closer, and with less pretensions to regularity, though even among these, it is evident that their location has been selected with a view to secure a free circulation of air.

A beautiful green-sward—which at this season of vigorous vegetation defies the destructive work of many feet, overspreads the streets, giving them an air of delightful freshness.

Good roads lead to the different townships and villages, and command at various points, some beautiful views.

The Governor's house, barracks, &c., are placed on a commanding and airy situation.

The market, which is held in a square, in a central position, was well supplied with tropical fruits, of which pine-apples were abundant. Fish, of various kinds, were plentiful, but cannot maintain their position long in the market-place, as they soon decompose in this climate, and, unless speedily sold, must be ejected. Nearly all the different articles exposed for sale were proffered by Negro women; and the incessant clatter kept up on every side, quite convinces the visitor that the active use of that little member, the tongue, is not confined to the gentle sex of more temperate climes. They did not restrict their commercial transactions to the market; for the 'Wilberforce' was daily surrounded with busy visitants, each bearing—Ceres-like—some production of

the soil, as bananas, oranges, pines, custard-apples, sugar-cane, earth-nuts, &c. They were all liberated Africans, or their descendants, full of noisy mirth and business. Mammy, and Daddy, are the common expressions in use, to designate the sexes. So that a dialogue is carried on somewhat in this manner.

"Well, mammy, what de news?" "Oh! tank'ee dāāddy, nuffing perticular,—only Gubberna Jeremy dead—fever catch him,—he werry good man,—you got *wash* clothes?—me wash. Eberry body Sella-Leon, too much glad, you go 'top Slave Trade. You like buy dis basket orange? me sell him too much cheap. Buy-em, dāāddy?"

On the evening of the 28th, we experienced a very violent tornado. Soon after sunset the well-known portentous arch of dark clouds, and the gloomy circle round the horizon, gave indications of its approach. The air was close and almost motionless. Shortly after eight, a few heavy drops of rain fell, quickly followed by vivid flashes of the electric fluid and the deafening roar of the thunder.

The rain then became heavier; the wind swept along with a hoarse, rushing sound, its resistless power tearing up and laying low the giants of the forest, or overwhelming the unprepared or too-confiding vessel and its hapless crew. Each element seemed to be madly striving for mastery during the greater part of two hours, when the fearful strife terminated in favour of the water, the rain coming down in a

deluge, well described by one of the sailors, who remarked, "every drop was as big as a bucketful."

A great deal of mischief was done in the colony. The commissariat building was struck and much injured at three of the corners, where the solid masses of wood, which formed the angular supports, were split and shivered for several feet. The point of electric attraction was considered to have been the iron fastenings of the water-spouts.

Several persons were killed; and, in one case, it looked like a solemn coincidence with the arrival of an expedition, some of whose objects and anticipated results were the overthrow of superstition, and the moral improvement of Afric's children. Two Aku people, a man and woman, were engaged at the door of their hut, not far from the barracks, singing, beating drums, and offering up their prayers and adorations to the forked lightning which illumined the dark sky with its fitful glare. A sudden, but loud shriek takes the place of the votive song. The dwelling has been struck by the destroying fluid they were worshipping, and the miserable pair are immolated in the ruins.

Some of the officers went next day to visit the place. The objects presented were at once horrible and humiliating. The lightning's track was plainly discernible across the enclosure which surrounded the hut—now almost levelled to the earth. The remains of its ill-fated tenants were there in ghastly and

distorted shape, some portions blackened and dessicated: others in a state of putrefaction. The viscera were protruding and covered with flies; the bones of the head white, as if they had been bleached for years.

Yet, sad as the spectacle was, it seemed to be even more so when remembered that their benighted countrymen would regard this as an especial mark of the favour of their gods, who had thus translated them by the agency of a fluid which they worship as a deity.

In his botanical researches, Dr. Vogel made many enquiries after the somewhat mystical 'cream-fruit' of *Afzelius*. The name was unknown, but several persons guessed, from his description, that it must be a fruit they call 'Bird-lime,' of which he procured a dried specimen nearly ripe. It is not eaten readily by any person. After all, he says "we have yet to learn whether cream-fruit, bird-lime, and Don's sweet *Pishanin*, are or are not identical."

"The Oil Palm (*Elais Guinensis*) is the only one occurring often near Freetown. It is *monœcious*, the male flower grows above the female. It sometimes produces fruit when only seven feet high, before the lowest ribs have decayed. There was also a *Leguminosa*, belonging apparently, from the fruit, to the genus *Afzelia*; but if so, it would form a separate division.

"Though a rich Flora, it was not—near the town, nor in the mountains—so luxuriant as description leads

to expect. The soil is a close clay saturated with iron, and therefore cannot be fertile. Such, indeed, having soon been ascertained by the early settlers, their attention was directed to other localities in the vicinity; whether, with greater success, we had not opportunity to ascertain. But it must appear a matter of surprise that this thickly-peopled colony should not produce anything fit for exportation. The trade in African oak, and cam-wood seems to be a wanton neglect of the rich capabilities with which this region is endowed by nature. This surely is a subject for deep consideration. The Africans collected here, in such multitudes, ought to furnish abundant and cheap labour, and yet there is no cultivation on a grand scale, such as to create a staple in the colony. Much diligence is excited in converting and educating, to a certain extent, the liberated Africans, but without any beneficial influence on the mass, nor on the neighbouring tribes. This is not very satisfactory, and it proves that the original and main object contemplated on the formation of the colony, namely, to form a nucleus of Civilization, and to rear a body of free labourers, whence they might be diffused to the surrounding nations, has not been advanced."

The liberated Africans on their arrival are apprenticed to a planter till their twentieth year, after that a piece of land is apportioned to them, which procures a maintenance, scanty it is true, but sufficient for

their absolute wants, and thus they fall back into a state of animal existence, little, if anything better than their original barbarism.

No Englishman can visit the settlement without a feeling of honest pride, that his country should have been the first to attempt to atone for the deep miseries inflicted on Africa by the inhuman traffic in her children. But while he also reflects how much reparation he owes her for his more extensive complicity, he will not fail to confess that in this attempt, the result falls infinitely short even of the instalment proposed to be given.

Sierra Leone has in fact reached that point in its career at which, unless some more energetic measures be adopted to carry forward the original design, its usefulness must cease, and its retrogression will be rapid. Already it wears the aspect of premature decrepitude. An abundant population neglects its resources; and in addition to the natural increment, it receives large numbers every year, in re-captured slaves; yet its wealth and means of advancement do not keep pace with even a natural increase in population.

It wants in fact capital and energy, to call forth the resources of the country and give employment to the multitude of settlers, who in default of it, have become mere drones. The exertions of the Missionary Societies, in their great vocation, are deserving of the highest praise;—but how few labourers in such an extensive vineyard? After all, unless the social condition of

the negro be raised, he will never truly appreciate his spiritual wants.

The exports of the colony are indeed small, compared with its resources, being chiefly coffee, a few hides, pepper, ginger, and some indigo of inferior quality. We had intended to introduce the cochineal insect, some of which we had procured at Teneriffe, but we could not see any of the proper cactus; that which is met with here and at Cape Coast, being a small, thin-leaved, and less succulent one, than the *Opuntia Tuna.* The most valuable export is the timber, from the banks of the neighbouring rivers.

The day before leaving Sierra Leone, we witnessed one of those destructive flights of locusts which sometimes visit the settlement with such blighting influence. It first appeared about three P.M. and only terminated after sunset. The insects followed one another at the distance of several feet, but in such myriads, that a long and broad line only was discernible in the air, making a course from north to south. This was said only to have been a moderate swarm; but it gave us some faint idea of the eighth plague of the Egyptians. The inhabitants of the several villages lighted fires, and mustered with drums, tomtoms, and such other articles as would assist by their noise in preventing the devastating legions from making a descent on their plantations; where they would soon have reduced every edible herb to a leafless state. As the people here do not, like the Arabs, turn these insects to account as an article for the

cuisine—their visits are indeed looked on as a perfect scourge.

Friday, July 2.—In the afternoon, the 'Wilberforce,' with 'Soudan' in tow, left Sierra Leone and proceeded along the coast. The 'Albert' soon followed us.

We met H.M. brig 'Ferret' in a very sickly state, many of the men were suffering from fever, to which her medical officer had already fallen a sacrifice. A surgeon was sent on board to alleviate their most pressing wants.

July 5.—Arrived off Cape Mesurado, having experienced much of the squally and showery weather belonging to the rainy season.

We anchored off the town of Monrovia, chief settlement of Liberia, the American colony of free and liberated coloured men. It contains about one thousand inhabitants, under the Presidency of Mr. Buchanan, the only white man resident here, who showed us every attention.

This is a most interesting experiment, but how far it has succeeded, our short stay would hardly allow us to judge : it is to be feared that it will be much prejudiced by the ill-judged and exaggerated statements of it that have been put forth. There are, however, many signs of advancement, which may produce good fruit, if not marred by a premature conception of the importance of their future destiny. The houses are large and commodious. They have various places of public worship, which is unfortunately split into several sects.

There are schools, provided with maps, and some physical instruments, but it is to be feared a small amount of useful instruction; and there is a printing press, from which emanate two newspapers, wherein party spirit seems to run as high as in more extensive communities. Lastly, their mission is of peace, yet they have almost always been at war with the adjoining nations.

"The vegetation of this part of Africa is very similar to that of Sierra Leone. *Sarcocephelus esculentus* grows abundantly, and the fruit called *Pomme granate* by Don; a *Poivrea*, with beautiful red flowers, seems new; *Cassia occidentalis*, and a herbaceous *Phyllanthus* were found in abundance. Around the dwellings, coffee trees have been planted, but are left to grow too freely; limes, figs, curcas, ananas, *Soursop* or *Anona muricata*, *Cytisus cajan*, and arrow-root are cultivated. Bananas and the oil palm occur of course, and the guava, recently introduced, has become a weed."

The land is not very rich; on the shore is the same iron-clay as at Sierra Leone, and somewhat higher up towards the Cape Mesurado, the same diallage according to Mr. Roscher, only it is of a finer grain, and firmer. In several places the percolation of water has produced singular forms, almost models of mountain ranges. Although the neighbourhood of Monrovia is so densely covered with thick underwood, is intersected by rivers with their accompanying swamps, a clay soil, and other causes likely to induce disease; the colonists are

said to be not unhealthy at present, though the first settlers suffered very severely from remittent and intermittent fevers, until those who survived became seasoned; they are even now not unfrequent.

The dangerous nature of the bar at the mouth of the river, which must be crossed before landing, made it quite impossible to procure wood for fuel. Our light boats even were in considerable peril in landing the officers.

One object of our visit to Liberia was however attained; Mr. Carr secured the services of two volunteers for the model farm. One of these, Ralph Moore, had been accustomed to the management of cotton plantations, on the banks of the Mississippi. He was an intelligent, well-conducted negro.

We gladly availed ourselves of an opportunity of sending letters to England by a brig which sailed from this place.

July 6.—At 5 P.M. we left Monrovia. Contrary winds soon made us sensible of the impossibility of making much progress under sail, owing to the peculiar construction of the vessels, which were necessarily more calculated for river, than sea navigation. We made long tacks and short tacks, "long legs and short legs," hoping to creep along shore, but in the morning we found ourselves abreast of the point we had seen near us on the preceding evening—so prone were the vessels to the odious and disreputable habit of making leeway. Nothing would get them to windward but

steam. In order to economise the small quantity of bad fuel that we had obtained at Sierra Leone, an attempt was made by the 'Albert,' to tow both the 'Wilberforce' and the schooner; but this was found to be worse than useless, and it was deemed advisable for each to make the best of our way to the rendez-vous at Cape Coast Castle. The 'Albert' having more coals, reached a place called Sinù, where she stopped to cut wood. The Americans have here a small settlement, which was established by the Mississippi Society in 1835, it is situated on a tongue of land between the river and sea; and is called Grenville. The first Governor, Mr. Finlay, was murdered some years ago at Gran Bassa, where he touched on his way to Monrovia. Unfortunately he was seen by the natives to have received some money from the captain of the vessel in which he had arrived; and soon after landing, was waylaid and murdered to obtain possession of the little property he had about him. The perpetrators of the crime could never be discovered, but a war was commenced against their tribe, which after having been prolonged for some time, terminated in the aggressors being obliged to enter into treaties with their American neighbours.

There are about five hundred natives at Sinù, who are a mixture of Blue-barras and Fishmen, some of whom came accidentally to that neighbourhood about sixty years ago.

The habits of the latter seem to preponderate. They have no tatooed marks on their persons, and are as

regardless of dress as their forefathers. A few strings of beads, and a scanty waist cloth, is their only dress, either of useful or ornamental. The hair of the females is shaven in various fashions, sometimes including half of the head, or in others leaving merely a tuft at the top.

Their faces are generally besmeared with yellowish clay, which gives them an unseemly appearance. The children, when young, are carried on the backs of the mothers in a semi-circular box, which is suspended from the shoulders.

CHAPTER V.

Visit Edina—Gran Bassa—'Black Will,' King of Bassa—Dexterity of the Fishmen in the management of their canoes—Wooding—Huts of the natives—Grave of 'Jack-be-off'—Foulahs at war with the Fishmen—Senegal larkheel—Naturalist shoots a black boy by mistake, or danger of "hopping the twig"—Trees and plants—Chamelions—Popular belief that the saliva of this reptile produces blindness—Pestilential swamps—Hammer-headed sharks—Cape Palmas—Procure fuel—'Jack Smoke,' Captain W. Allen's old Kru servant, joins him—Appearance of the town and surrounding country—Dress of the natives—Missionary establishment—Interesting history of an American missionary—Sun-birds—Migratory black ants—Their destructiveness—Geology—Superstitious dread of the natives against planting Cocoa-nut trees—Meteorology.

July 9.—The 'Wilberforce,' in the meantime having soon exhausted her fuel, anchored to-day off the town of Edina, an affiliation of the colony of Liberia, which is rapidly advancing along the coast. At this place, however, there were already jealousies, which induced some to wish to abandon the parent state, and put themselves under the British flag.

The inhabitants were very willing to supply us with wood, at the rate of two and a half dollars the chord; but this would have involved the necessity of crossing the

bar of the Grand Bassa, or St. John's River, a risk not to be incurred on any account, though the master of a schooner offered to pilot the vessel, as he said there was sufficient water. The health of the crew would also have been too much endangered:—yet wood we must have. Therefore, after having examined some rocks near a point, the vessel was taken into Bassa Cove, which, considering the nature of the coast, was tolerably convenient for wooding.

Although there was a very heavy swell all along the coast, it could not prevent the adventurous and expert Fishmen from rowing out to "makee trade;" among the foremost was 'Black Will,' the burly, rough-toned chief of Bassa; he came off full of promises as to fuel; nor, indeed, did he deceive us, since, in two days, a tolerable quantity was forthcoming, but at a very dear rate in cotton-cloths, on receiving which they ceased working, so a party of our coloured men were sent on shore to cut the wood; 'Black Will' pretending that his people had not axes, or, in other words, did not like the work. His sable majesty is a stout specimen of his class, very vociferous, and yet plain spoken; his capacity for rum is enormous, and he admitted when he came on board, that he "drink plenty. too much, each night make head sing." On the following day, we landed with much difficulty; the surf was very heavy, and nearly swamped our whale-boats in approaching the beach. How the natives contrive to manage their little narrow round-bottomed canoes is a wonder—no English-

man could for a moment retain the frail bark in its upright position; and yet they not only do so in ordinary circumstances, but think nothing of paddling off in the most tremendous surf. In most places where water breaks heavily, it is observed that something like regularity obtains in the interval between the more violent successions of the rollers; and the Fishman, by long experience, knows the exact moment when there will be a lull; in this he pushes off, and is soon beyond the reach of the breakers; when once outside of them, he cares nothing about the water rolling over the gunwale of the tiny canoe: with his foot he expertly and quickly throws it out again, and it is only when he is on the point of sinking, that he uses a rude sort of scoop to bale with. Most of the wood was brought off in these canoes, and yet no accident occurred. The fact is, these people almost live on the water from their earliest years, and therefore become accomplished swimmers; all that is necessary in the management of the canoe is a ready and proper balance of the body to maintain it upright. To attain this must require about the same address that is exerted by a dancer on a tight or slack rope, and only acquired by constant practice and firmness.

A few yards from the shore, we found a lagoon, left by the overflowing of the sea at certain seasons, and as it abounded with fish, the seine was employed with much success.

The Fishmen have settlements on both sides of the little River St. John's:—that on the left is clearer of wood

and more cultivated. 'King Will's' town is a scattered village on the right bank, beautifully placed as far as the eye is concerned, amid fine specimens of Palm, Cocoa and Bamboo. The houses are well built, of a somewhat conical shape, but nicely and securely wattled with Bamboo and Palm-leaves; they have generally a raised floor of Bamboo, and are tolerably clean. The inmates were not backward in offering an invitation to enter, but the closeness of the air externally, and the smoke which burst forth at the little doorway, literally choked the rising wish to become more acquainted with the internal arrangements. Near the beach, under a little Palm-tree, lies the burying-place of 'Jack-be-off,' a man who had served on board a vessel of war; his bottle—said to contain rum?—some calabashes, a frying-pan, and brass-pot were scattered over his grave, while the mysterious Fetìche, or god, a little mass of clay enveloped in a bit of rag, and suspended by a stick, kept supposed watch over all that was mortal of "poor Jack." What reader can hear of such absurd superstition, and not wish fervently that some of the numerous Krumen and Fish-men, who frequent Sierra Leone, should be made the objects of express religious solicitude; and that before too much is expected from the interior, we might behold some opening fruit on the immediate coast and among the people with whom our African colonists are holding constant intercourse.

The facilities, however, which the vicinity of this interesting nation affords, and their devoted attachment to

the English, has not yet excited the attention of missionaries. Proselytes are seldom made among the Krumen.

10*th.*—To-day, on going into the country for some little distance, we encountered a small party of Fulahs, who are at present engaged in war with the Fishmen, so that the latter cannot move far into the "bush." The Fulahs we met were certainly very rough-looking fellows, and probably the fear of the white man's double-mouthed guns alone prevented their making free with our clothes. They were very rude in appearance, armed with muskets and spears, and had patches of monkey-skins about their persons, among which we noticed portions of the beautiful Diana Monkey (*Cercopithecus Diana*). In the woods, we shot several fine specimens of *Centropus Senegalensis*, the general plumage on the back is a rich brown, while the stiff-hirsute feathers of the neck are a dark olivaceous green, approaching to black; the long tail is fine shining black, the whole bird has a graceful appearance. On returning to the boat, we ascertained that a very unlucky accident had occurred, and which might have been attended with bad consequences,—it turned out, however, slight, and only served as a passing amusement. It appeared that our worthy naturalist had been engaged in the bush, looking for specimens of "rare natives," and seeing a movement among some underwood, concluded it must be a rich prize; he waited in breathless suspense for a second or two, hoping that perhaps he might get a glimpse of the coveted object,

but the rustling in the bush continuing, his anxiety got the better of his patience, and bang went his "Manton." A sort of wild shriek followed, and on rushing to pick up what he trusted was a new species of monkey, he found a black boy, wounded in some places by the shot, but more frightened than hurt. The little fellow scrambled off in quick style, not wishing to try any longer the process of "hopping the twig" near a zealous Zoologist. 'Black Will' made some palaver about it, but a *douceur*—a piece of handkerchiefs and an axe—served to sooth the irritation of the young sufferer's wounds and the ill-feeling of his friends.

Some of our countrymen came on board from a small schooner, trading for palm oil and ivory on the coast. Two of them were sickly, and suffering much from ague and other sequences of the coast fever. They were very grateful for proper medicines and kind treatment on their visit; and we afterwards learned that the remedies had been effectual.

During our stay at Grand Bassa, we had rain every day, sometimes lasting with great violence for many hours, which made our operations of wooding very difficult, and attended with danger to health, though the hard work was principally done by the Krumen.

This unfavourable state of the weather also limited the researches of our Botanist, and confined his observations to the immediate vicinity of the shore, where, however, he found more plants than he was able to preserve in such a damp atmosphere. A collection of one hundred

species was made with difficulty; many plants, especially in parasitical *Orchideæ*, were not yet in flower.

The shore is flat and sandy, and the drift is carried far inland. There are here no forests, only shrubs, intermingled with isolated high trees, the nature of which could not be determined, as they were without blossom or fruit. The African *Bombax* appeared to be among them, and the same *Spondias* as at Sierra Leone. It was doubtful whether a considerable tree of this was identical with *Myrobalanus*.

But the pride of these shores is the *Elais*. Clumps of a dozen or more of these graceful trees, exhibiting under different circumstances a modified appearance, give a great variety of aspect to the country. It is a Palm of moderate height, and forms, with various Figs, the chief mass of the woods. The underwood consists of shrubby *Rubiaceæ*, with shining leaves, intermingled with *Gloriosa superba*, *Cissi*, *Leguminosæ* and *Banisteria* as creepers, leaving hardly room for *Melastomæ*, and other low plants that peep through with their lovely blossoms. Nothing can be more beautiful than a clump of a few Oil Palms, with the remaining stumps of the lower leaves covered with the fresh verdure of parasitical Ferns and *Orchidaceæ*.

Of single plants may be mentioned *Sarcocephalus*, occurring frequently; the same *Phyllanthus* as in Liberia, *Schmidelia Africana*, a genus of *Apocyneæ*, which seems new, *Tabernæ montana*, remarkable on account of its double fruit, as large as a child's head, the seeds nestling in the almost woody

pulp; wild sugar-cane, not in blossom; *Conocarpus erectus* was a small shrub; *Haronga*, probably new; *Cassytha*, *Scævola*, different from *Sc. Lobelia*, *Canna*, *Indigo*, *Cassia occidentalis*, cultivated, *Borreria Kohauntiana*, &c. *Stylosanthus* with erect and very branching stems, formed a close jungle, about one foot and a half high, on the sandy shore.

A few open spaces amongst the shrubby woods were covered, as if cultivated, with *Cyperaceæ*, amongst which, frequently, a species of *Eriocaulon*.

A few other watered spots shewed grasses with a beautiful *Orchideæ*. Near the village, *Euphorbia drussifera* (Schum.) was found. An excursion to the river enabled the Doctor to examine the Mangrove woods: *Rhyzophora*, different from *Rhyz-Mangli*, had not yet any ripe fruit. It formed the bulk of the wood. Amongst it was *Avicennia*, according to the leaves different from that at Sierra Leone, (*Nitida*) was frequent, and as a shrub. *Conocarpus racemosus*, it is doubtful whether this is identical with the American species, which has not been enumerated among African plants, but occurs at Sierra Leone in similar situations. Intermixed with these, *Drepanocarpus lunatus*, as a small tree with its thorns, rendered walking very difficult. *Pandanus candelabrum*, without leaves, was met here for the first time in the swamps. An *Anona*, a tree ten or twelve feet high, had fruit, and appeared to be very similar to *Chrysocarpa Lepr.* if not the same, it was not rare in these swamps. Legumi-

nous trees were hardly met with here, and none of a large size; no *Mimoseæ* or *Cæsalpineæ*. Of cultivated plants, the Sweet Cassada is much valued; also rice, various sorts of Capsicum, Papayas, and Plantains; *Holcus*, or Indian corn, here and there. Ananas grew in great quantities among the shrubs.

One of the most interesting inhabitants of the bushes all over this coast, is the Chameleon *Senegalensis*. The usual colour is an obscure green; the body is lizard-shaped, with the exception of the tail, which is generally longer, rounder, and thicker, often curled up, and, moreover, somewhat prehensile, or capable, when twisted round any object, of supporting the body. It is very inactive in its habits, and moves but slowly or seldom from a convenient resting-place. The tongue is long, and easily and rapidly extended in any direction, so that it answers all the purposes of procuring food. The eye of the Chameleon, though small soon detects the insects hovering about its neighbourhood, and with the utmost celerity it secures them by means of that member. In one which we kept on board some time, attached to a slender branch, it was amusing now and then to see an unwary fly rest for a moment on the sensitive creature; if within reach of the tongue, the little intruder was soon seized.

The colour of the skin changes, according to excitement of different degrees, mostly light, heat, or irritation from other causes.

We are inclined to believe that the variation in hue

depends on the more or less elevation of the little scaly bodies; with which the skin is studded. A process similar to blushing takes place—the minute capillaries of the skin are distended—the animal, as if by a long inspiration, puffs the body out; thereby separating the little scales, and modifying the light as it falls on the altered surface. The change is very gradual.

The natives along the coast say, that when the animal is highly irritated, it spits out a fluid so acrid, that if it enter the eye, it will produce much inflammation, and consequent loss of sight; but as we could never meet with a person who had suffered from it, we suppose it to be a popular error. We have often endeavoured to provoke the sensitive reptile to this act of rudeness; but it never proceeded further than to open the mouth very wide, as if gasping.

While we were lying here, a schooner, having all the appearance of a slaver, stood close in shore, evidently for the purpose of reconnoitring us. We learned, in fact, from the Krumen, that a cargo of human beings was collected at a short distance to the southward, and no doubt the slave-owner was waiting for our departure to embark them, as we found that he watched us until we were well out of his way.

Wednesday, July 14th.—Having procured all the fuel we could stow, we weighed at four P.M., and proceeded along the coast, which was found to be very low, and covered with thick forest and underwood down to the beach: this was sandy, with a heavy and incessant

surf breaking on it. One would imagine that malaria and fevers must hold undisputed possession of these impenetrable forests and noisome swamps; but the wreathing smoke which appeared in many places, proved that He who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," has given in His mercy, such a constitution to the creatures whom He has placed here, as to enable them to resist a climate which would speedily show, to those not so adapted, that they could not tempt its dangerous atmosphere with impunity.

We had an opportunity of seeing two of those hideous monsters of the deep, the hammer-headed shark, *Zygæna malleus*, which as we slowly moved along, followed us some time, to the dismay of the superstitious among the sailors. It is certainly one of the most singular and horrible looking of fishes. The head is depressed, more or less truncated in front; on each side extending horizontally to some length, which gives it the hammer shape. The eyes are placed at the extremity of this curious formation; and as the animal in its zigzag movements, slightly raises one side and depresses the other, the eye has a most revolting aspect; they are furnished with lids, which proceed from the internal part of the orbits; the pupil is black, surrounded by a rich yellow iris. In a small one we procured, the conjunctiva was of a reddish tinge. The semi-circular mouth is furnished with four or five rows of serrated teeth, according to age, directed towards the corners of the mouth. The elongated nostrils are

immediately below the central notch, which, as it were, divides the laterally elongate head. The bronchial openings, five in number, are all before the base of the pectoral fin. The inferior division of the tail is small; the superior portion long, pointed and very powerful, and it is chiefly by this it is enabled to turn with any facility; but the conformation of the head prevents it from moving with the dexterity of most other sharks; and, therefore, though voracious, it is less dangerous. The body is tapering and of a greyish brown. Its whole appearance is most repulsive.

Like many of the *Squalus*, or shark family, it brings forth its young alive, ten or twelve at a time; these usually keep together, unless destroyed, so that where one small one is seen, there are generally others not far off.

The pretty little pilot fish, which is so often the companion of the other monsters of this genus, we have never seen with the hammer-head.

Friday, July 16th.—We anchored at Cape Palmas, again for the purpose of replenishing our rapidly consumed stock of fuel. The incessant surf made landing at this place, even more difficult than the last. It was impossible for the boats to pass the bar of the little river; we were, therefore, obliged to make use of another but difficult place outside the river, where it required the greatest care to prevent their being knocked to pieces. In order to be as near as possible, to facilitate the conveyance of their loads to and fro, the vessel was also here taken inside some rocks, which afforded

tolerable shelter from everything except the swell, that sweeps around the rocks, and is, however, almost the only danger, as it rarely blows hard on this coast.

The paddle-box boats were found to be of incalculable service; no others could have borne such rude work. We used the utmost dispatch in getting the wood off, employing such natives as would work for hire, as well as our own black-men; and it was fortunate we had completed at the time we did, for within a quarter of an hour after the last boat-load had left the shore, the swell became so violent, lashing the rock which we had selected as a landing-place with such fury, that approach would have been impossible.



The Americans have also a settlement here, with some respectable-looking houses; but Cape Palmas is chiefly

important as being the head-quarters of the Fishmen. The native town at some little distance apart from the American location, is a collection of mud huts with raised floors, and roofs generally conical. Their town is kept very clean, though straggling. Commander Allen went thither in search of his old and faithful servant 'Jack Smoke,' who had served him with such unwearied attention during his frequent and long illnesses on the former expedition; when there was no other person to assist him, poor 'Jack Smoke' performed the part of servant, nurse and friend, for which he was held in most grateful recollection.

'Jack Smoke' was now enjoying the *otium cum dignitate* on the profits of that voyage, which could not have been small. He was not at home to receive his visitor, but at the door of his neat hut, Commander Allen saw an interesting young black woman, playing with a very pretty chubby little naked negro-boy These proved to be Mrs. Smoke and Master Jacky. Papa was soon sent for, and expressed much gratification, in his quiet way, at the sight of his old master; who now had an opportunity of showing the estimation in which he held him by offering the berth of second head Kruman, which, after a slight consultation with Madame his better half, he joyfully accepted, and entered at once on his office, having no preparation, and small adieux to make; he came indeed in a very light marching order, with nothing but his *waist-cloth* about him.

Most of the women were busily engaged preparing rice

and indian corn, by pounding it in large wooden mortars, several of them had a little infant suspended to the back, which slept on, regardless of the incessant and jerking motion of the mother.

A good many of the men speak imperfect English, either acquired from the Americans, or on board our ships, where most of them have spent more or less time.

The natives here, as at all other points on the coast, do not expend much time or clothing on their persons. A plain cotton cloth, folded from above the breast and round the middle, is considered sufficient for the women, while the men are content to walk in the more simple and convenient waist-cloth.

17*th.*—At an early hour we went on shore and wandered into the country surrounding Cape Palmas; passing through an irregular street of detached houses, inhabited mostly by American blacks who have been settled here. The country is well cleared of large trees, and occasionally some patches of rice were met with, which the natives were cutting down and bearing home on their heads, accompanied with the usual garrulous din of the Negro. About two miles from the town, we were agreeably startled by hearing numerous voices engaged in a hymn well-known in boyish days, and which falling on the ear in a sequestered African palm grove, raised pleasing, yet sad emotions: on approaching we were surprised to find the vocal harmony proceeded from a large well-built house, used as a school, and from which on our coming nearer, the good super-

intendent—leaving his pupils—made his appearance, and in the kindest manner proffered his services to show us anything worthy of notice in his neighhourhood.

In the course of a long walk through the surrounding woods, he explained many interesting features in the natural history of the country, as well as the more important ones of the social and moral condition of the natives.

His own story was one, indeed, illustrative of that perfect benevolence and self denial, which may even yet be found occasionally in fallen man. He was a missionary from the United States, descended from a highly respectable family, of English extraction, that had—only a generation previously—settled in one of the southern States. He had always been opposed to slavery in any shape, and being truly concerned for the welfare of the African in his native wilds, becoming on his father's demise proprietor of the estate and negroes, he resolved on liberating the latter; and in order that they might "sit down" in the country from whence they were descended, a useful example to those whom they might be located near, he sold the property, paid the expenses of the passage and maintenance of his father's slaves, and had settled near Cape Palmas. His generous disposition would not allow him to breathe a syllable on the subject of the ingratitude of those for whom he had sacrificed all; but enough was elicited to show that many of his brightest hopes had been disappointed. He had a school, containing forty or fifty youths, children of

Fishmen and liberated American blacks; but he said he found it difficult to induce them to continue long under tuition, and that when once they had acquired a little knowledge of writing and reading they were removed. In the case of the natives, probably the Gregree men, or priests, are the cause of this, inasmuch as knowledge, even in a limited degree, must soon overthrow the system of imposition by which they subsist and exert such influence over the people.

We shot some most beautiful species of *Cinnyris*, or sun-bird—the African humming-bird—and returned to our kind friend's residence, where we met his wife, a very intelligent and interesting person, and partook of their hospitality.

On hinting to him our regrets that he and his good partner should remain there in such miserably bad health as they were evidently suffering from, he replied in a resigned and quiet tone, "I have staked all my little worldly property for these people, and to advance the cause of Christ in this country; and although I have so indifferent a prospect to cheer me at present, if it please God I will continue, and if need be, end my days in this land of my adoption."

The attenuated forms and sickly look of this devoted couple, and their quiet, unostentatious demeanour, filled us all with respect and admiration. If there were but a few more of such sincere practical philanthropists, how much might be done for heathen Africa?

On our way back to the boat, we came across a mi-

gratory band of black ants—*Termites*. Their path was about three inches broad, and very much resembled a long black snake, as the tumultuous mass struggled along, each insect trying to advance before its fellows.

How numerous must be a colony like this, which has its multitude in every square inch, and yet the line of emigration sometimes extends for miles. Whatever lies in their path that can serve as food, is quickly devoured by such hosts of hungry travellers. Snakes often become their prey, when, after repletion, they are met in a state of torpor; and it is said that cases have occurred where infirm and sickly persons, unable to move out of their way, have been literally eaten up alive by them. It seems hardly credible, and yet we can easily believe on looking at the black mass as it pours onwards, that nothing edible would long resist them.

The day was fine, and we returned to the vessel much pleased with what we had seen, and above all with the good and generous missionary whose acquaintance we were so fortunate as to have made.

The rocks, hornblende-slate or mica-slate, protrude through the soil, which is very bad on this part of the coast; a stiff iron-clay, having its origin, according to Roscher, in the *débris* of granite veins piercing through the rock; though in all probability the rock itself has a great deal to do with the formation.

Farther up the river the soil is said to be good.

The river to the north of the Cape, by the statement of the Governor, is navigable for canoes to the

extent of seven miles, and enters the sea by several channels.

At a distance, the Cape itself is a pleasing object, the neck of land is well covered, and beyond, the beautiful forms of the oil and wine palms form a graceful and prominent feature.

Our Botanist's excursions were limited to the isthmus and adjacent parts. On the isthmus grew *Phœnix spinosæ*, a low shrub: beyond the river, it was said to have flowers and fruit.

A few Cocoas had been planted some years back, and had not as yet attained much height. There is here a strong and very prejudicial superstition relative to the planting of that most invaluable tree, the Cocoa palm; they believe that whoever plants one will surely die before it produces fruit, that is to say in about seven years. The chief of the Fishmen yielded at last to the exhortations of the American Governor, though not convinced by his arguments of the folly of the superstition, and the real evil which such a belief entails. He was fully sensible of the great uses of the tree, and desirous of possessing some; therefore, in order to avoid the fatal consequences supposed to attach to those who are directly instrumental in sowing them, he devised an ingenious method of providing a subterfuge. Having placed some nuts at the brink of holes previously drilled, he caused cattle to be driven about over the ground thus prepared, until all the nuts were thrown into the spaces and covered over by the hoofs of the beasts.

There were also some small trees of the Sour-sop or *Anona muricata*. The plants chiefly cultivated seemed to be Cassada, Sweet Potatoes, *Convolvolus batatas;* Bananas, *Musa sapientum;* Plantains, *Musa paradasaica;* Indian Corn, *Sorghum rubens;* Rice, and *Cassia occidentalis*.

The same *Spondias* as we had before seen were also here. Coffee had been introduced from Monrovia. Here and there, the indigenous species of cotton had been planted. The Ground-nut *Arachis hypogæa Africana*, was found planted at one spot. *Leguminosæ* were very conspicuous.

Of the native Flora, which however was but imperfectly examined, we found here *Rubiacæ*, *Convolvulaceæ*, *Anona* near *Chrysocarpa*, as in Grand Bassa. *Pandanus candelabrum* grew here on dry ground; several sorts of Figs, amongst which the small-fruited one of Grand Bassa. The common Physic-nut, or *Jatropha curcas*, was frequently employed for fences. Among the underwood was found a small shrubby tree related to *Belvisia Napoleona*, and probably a separate genus nearly approaching it. It had blossoms and fruit. From the latter, Dr. Vogel was convinced that the same plant, or a species very little differing from it, was seen at Grand Bassa.

The rainy season commences at Cape Palmas about May, and continues almost without intermission until October; but even during the dry season there are frequent heavy showers of some hours' duration, chiefly in the forenoon.

The sea-breeze sets in about nine or ten A.M., and declines towards sunset, when the close and insalubrious land-wind succeeds.

According to Dr. McGill the amount of rain deduced from two years' observations, 1840, 1841, is 80.76 inches per annum, of which 28 to 30 inches fell either in May or June, which are the months of heaviest rain; the winds are then variable, or southerly and easterly.

The tornadoes, at the opening and conclusion of the rains, occur generally every five or six days.

CHAPTER VI.

The Grain Coast—Krumen and Fishmen, or Grébus—Peculiar characteristics—Mode of government—Religious observances—Diseases—Music—Curious tradition—Good and evil spirits—Marocho, or Kru Christmas—Marriages—Observances on the death of individuals—Ceremony of drinking "Sassa water"—Aggri beads found among the Krus—Supposed communication with the ancient Egyptians—Kru fondness for finery—No slaves exported from the Kru country—Animosities of Krus and Grébus—Emigration recommended—Sail from Cape Palmas—Dangerous situation of the 'Wilberforce'—Bottomless pit—Bobsum Accra—Whale-boat swamped in landing—Sudden death of a liberated African—Several cases of fever—Fatal case—Arrival at Cape Coast—Governor M'Lean's desire to forward the views of the expedition—Appearance of Cape Coast—Governor M'Lean's policy—Fanti aversion to labour—Difficulty of improving the condition of the natives—The Governor visits the 'Wilberforce'—Amusing scene—Surf—Town of Cape Coast—Huts—Weaver-birds and their pensile nests—Mr. Freeman's missionary labours among the Fantis—Searching for gold dust.

18*th*. Proceeding slowly towards Cape Coast.—As we have already passed the Grain Coast, an interesting locality, connected with the little-known but most deserving Krumen, it is as well to

bring them here under consideration. Premising that the general and proper native names are Grébus, or Fishmen, and Kru-men, the appellation of the latter not being derived from their forming part of the crew of a ship, as erroneously stated by some authors, but in reality from the part of the coast whence they were first employed, viz., *Nanna Kru* and *Settra Kru*. Still there can be no doubt, on comparing the physical characters and language of both, that they are certainly one and the same race of people, however much the present animosities existing between them may induce each to declare to the contrary. Under the two heads of Grébus or Fishmen, and Krumen, may be classed the inhabitants of the small section of West Africa, comprised between 6° and 10° west longitude, and 4° 25′ and 5° 45′ north latitude. Of the two tribes, the Fishmen, or Grébus, are somewhat the more numerous: they inhabit the following localities of the space just referred to—Cape Palmas, Grand Sesters, Fishtown, Garraway, Log Town, Carvallhi, Po River, Tahou; while the proper Krumen possess Settra Kru, Krubar, Nanna Kru, King William's Town, and Piccaniny Sesters.

The Fishmen, as their name implies, are mostly accustomed to canoe life; and from their sitting so much in their narrow confined barks, the skin over the outer ankle becomes thickened in many cases, and this they refer to as a distinct and inherited mark, which of course is absurd, as it only obtains among a few of them who have been much occupied on the water. That they are

not inappropriately named, is evident from the dexterity they have acquired in their favourite element, wherein they seem to be more at home than on "terra firma."

The Krumen attend more to agriculture, and trust principally to the growth of rice and Indian corn.

The history, and domestic and religious customs, are the same in both. Each tribe has a King or Bullioh, as well as a grand "palaver" house. That for the Kru country is held at Krubar; the Bullioh residing at Nanna Kru, while Grand Sesters is the head-quarters of the Grébus, or Fishmen's King, and the grand "palaver" house.

Each separate town has a chief and little "palaver" house, where minor disputes are settled; but every two or three years, a grand "palaver" is held, to which deputies are sent from the little "palaver" houses, and the more important matters of each town arranged by majority.

The food of these tribes is principally rice, palm oil, and fish. The Grébus live more on the latter, but they add plantains, the flesh of deer, beef, &c., occasionally, as it can be procured. Umbilical and scrotal hernia and enlargement of some of the conglomerate glands, dicchari, or a species of slow gangrene, by which they lose their toes or fingers, and ulcers, are the most important diseases; but during August—the middle of their rainy season and the most sickly month—dysentery, and fevers, remittent and intermittent, occur; the latter is the most fatal, though slowest. These they attribute to the

bad thick water which at that time flows in all their rivers.

The music of these people is very simple; the subjoined is a specimen.



They accompany all their songs with the tom-tom, or, if afloat, by striking the paddle against the gunwale of the canoe or boat.

The traditional history of both tribes, Grébu and Kru, is identical; and, as well as their physical character and language, confirms the statement of their common origin.

They say their old men have a legend that a long time past their forefathers dwelt near high mountains which are many days' journey from the sea; that they were driven gradually from thence down to the coast by the Mandingo and Fulah Mahommedans, or as they themselves so well describe it, "Them fellows live behind we in bush. Make Allah, Allah! Allah Akbar every morning," alluding to the Mandingos and Fulahs, "they drive Kruboy and Grébu down to sea."

The religion among both is Paganism; but they believe in a Great God, whom they style "Nisrah," intermediate between whom and the priest, or Dhrrhiu, are the Buhs, or Gregres—various rude idols of wood and clay.

They say they cannot see or know the Great God, or "Nisrah;" and, therefore, it is necessary to have some intercessory agents between them; and for this purpose are the Gregres, or Buhs.

They also worship evil spirits to propitiate them; and thus ward off the ills they consider them capable of inflicting. The Grébus are more under the influence of this latter superstition than the Krumen.

Marocho, which occurs about our Christmas period of the year, is the greatest religious festival, but it is to celebrate the completion of their seed sowing. The feast continues for five or six days, during which they keep up a succession of dancing, singing, and firing of muskets. Goats, ducks and fowls, or rather the blood and heads, are offered up to their Gregres: the bodies being reserved for the entertainment. As the season corresponds so exactly with our Christmas, they say, "Kruboy keep Christmas too, all same white man."

Marriage is here, as all over the west coast of Africa, a civil contract. The man usually takes a wife when he is about twenty years of age, after which time the number increases according to his circumstances, from four—a usual number—to as many as one hundred. Females would thus appear to be more numerous than the males, but having no statistics to guide us, it must rest on the testimony of the natives that such is the case. They even say that there are many women who cannot get husbands, which we can only suppose must be, because they are deficient in those lines of beauty which constitute

a Kru or Grébu Venus. The average number in family could not be ascertained.

When a person is desirous of obtaining a wife, he visits the father of the girl, who, if agreeable to the match, or rather purchase, receives gifts from the proposing party, or his parent. These are generally a piece of blue cotton cloth, a brass kettle, some bars of iron, and two or more cows, as also country money—long cylindrical beads—much the same as those found in the Egyptian tombs. These preliminaries having been arranged, or in fact the wife paid for, she is brought to the husband's house, where a rude entertainment is provided. Drinking, dancing, and firing of muskets conclude the festivity. A small "dash" or present is usually given by the mother of the man as a propitiatory offering to the Buhs or Gregres, to ensure a prolific union.

On the death of any individual, the body is kept for two or three days; during which they offer up prayers incessantly to their gods in behalf of the deceased, that he be not persecuted by evil spirits, and that he may enjoy the new existence on which he is supposed to enter: a sort of Irish wake is then kept up in "Kru fashion." All this time the wives remain concealed from public view. While the burial is going on, the Dhrrhiu, or Gregre priest, makes "palaver," throwing various herbs over the body, which is always covered with English or native cloths, according to the wealth of the deceased. A bottle of rum, together with some cooked eatables, are generally placed on the grave over the head, together with such

household articles—kettles or pots, &c., as the deceased was supposed to prize. A number of Gregres and amulets are suspended round the grave. After three moons, or months, prayers are again offered up for the departed.

Any woman known or suspected to have been on bad terms with her husband is obliged, on his demise, to drink "Sassy water," which mostly proves fatal, unless the Dhrrhiu, or priest, is well bribed to dilute the poisonous draught.

At a Grébu town, near the American settlement of Greenwell, some of the officers of H.M.S. 'Albert' witnessed a curious ceremony connected with drinking "Sassy water," and which the Krumen said was gone through after the woman had shewn her innocence. We give it in the words of the Rev. J. Schön, one of the clergymen employed on the expedition, who was present:—"In a large open space between several houses, there was a considerable number of natives of both sexes and all ages assembled. Two women had seated themselves under the projecting roof of a native dwelling-house, with musical instruments—small calabashes garnished with iron and brass rings—and hooks in their hands, from which they dexterously produced the same sound, continually accompanying their instruments with vocal music, singing the same sentences over and over again. On their left hand was an old man sitting on the ground, beating a drum made out of the trunk of a tree merely hollowed out. In front of them

was a small fire; to the right of which was a heap of charms of various kinds, as horns, claws, teeth, and skins of animals, filthy pieces of calico, &c. There was also a country mortar, such as is generally used by the natives to beat their rice in, containing a little water, with some herbs or leaves and earth beaten up in it. The music having continued for some time, a woman of about forty or forty-five years of age stepped forward, placing herself before the mortar above described. Her legs were covered almost to her knees with iron rings, whether as an ornament or a punishment I cannot say; to me they would undoubtedly have proved the latter. Another woman then placed herself on the other side of the mortar, and with both her hands took out some of its contents, smearing it over the other woman's face, chest, back, arms, and legs. This being done, the person thus marked, decorated, or sullied, began dancing in a small circle for a few minutes, occasionally blowing a large horn. An old man now made his appearance, and put a few questions to the dancing woman, which, if I am not mistaken, were always answered in the affirmative, while the eyes of the woman appeared faint, and an unnatural perspiration covered her whole body. The old man then took two *white* fowls, a cock and a hen, and speaking in a low and mysterious voice handed them over to the great actress. She placed them first under her left arm, after which she lifted them up with both hands, shewing them to the people assembled. She then took a few grains of rice, and scattered them among

the charms which were lying in front of her, placed a few grains on the musical instruments, and held the heads of the fowls near the rice, which they picked up eagerly. It appeared to me that the people were pleased at this, and the fowls were removed out of sight alive. A young kid was now brought forward by the same old man, and presented to the woman who tried whether it would eat rice; but not a single grain being eaten, she handed it over to the old man, who after murmuring a few unintelligible words, not addressed to anybody as far as I could observe, took it by its hind legs, and with all his strength struck its head three or four times on the ground, then turning it round swiftly, he seized its head with both hands and knocked its body several times on the ground with such violence that every bone of the poor creature must have been broken. When the kid was dead, the people walked off, and the ceremony seemed to be over." The proper solution to the above was: "that the woman had been obliged to drink 'Sassy water,' which not having proved fatal, this observance was gone through as an offering to the Gregres, and a proof of her innocence."

Witchcraft, adultery, and domestic quarrels are the offences for which "Sassy water" is mostly administered.

We have referred to the Aggri bead as one species of the country money and a most valued ornament; it is a cylindrical, light coloured bead, exactly the same as some of those now exhibited in the British Museum, taken from the Egyptian sarcophagi. These are much appreciated, especially by the Krus, and each one passes current at the

value of a Spanish dollar. The people say these beads are very old, and that their ancestors found them growing a long way off in the bush; but there can be little doubt they were obtained when their possessors inhabited the mountain district to the north, and trafficked with other tribes who had commercial dealings with the Egyptians.

The presence of these ornaments at such a distance from the place where they were originally produced is a curious fact, and may throw some light on the early Kru history; at least it points to the probability of their having had communication, more or less direct, with the Egyptians: that it was no casual circumstance is shewn from the quantity of these beads which are found among them. Of late years, the traders on the coast have tried to introduce imitations, but they are immediately distinguished, and do not pass for one twentieth of the value of the real Aggri bead.

The Krumen have for a long period been connected with our trade on the west coast of Africa, and are almost the only tribes who entertained such confidence in Englishmen as to trust themselves away from their homes, and for an indefinite time on board ship. This has now become so general among them—as the only way of acquiring riches—that nearly all the male population spend a shorter or longer term of probation, either in trade ships or in vessels of war. The commencement of their career is by an apprenticeship to a headman—generally an influential person, and of great previous experience, whose duty it is to initiate

his "boys"—as they are called—into the various duties the white man may require; for this preliminary education he receives a small portion of the wages of each of his party. Every gang of Krumen or Fishmen has, therefore, one or more headmen, according to its numbers, who interpret the orders and see them properly executed. These superiors can alone punish the people under their care, which they do with right good will when it is necessary. Even on board vessels of war, they are not allowed to be punished by white men, as such a proceeding would be so offensive to either tribe, that they would probably desert in a body.

At Sierra Leone, they have a locality called Kru Town, where they reside until their services may be required; and it is amusing to notice their variety of costume on particular occasions. Being always the highest bidders at the sale of deceased officers' effects, articles of uniform are purchased by them; and it is not unusual to see one with a post-captain's coat and epaulettes, surmounting a waistcloth; or another with a scanty fold of cotton round the middle, while his head and the lower extremities are severally encased in a cocked hat and pair of Wellington boots. The lucky possessors of such outward insignia of office, are fond of imitating the routine of a man-of-war, in Kru Town, by mustering at divisions, the officer of the watch, spy-glass in hand, reporting to the Captain, &c. This produces emulation and a desire to serve on board ship, and to merit a "good book" or character.

When their term of servitude has expired, they repair

to their several towns with all sorts of English manufactures, the fruit of cheerful labour, and bearing with them recollections of civilized life, which must eventually be productive of good.

Although that portion of West Africa occupied by the Grébus and Krus, is inconsiderable in extent and power, it is distinguished from all other parts of the coast by the free and independent character of the people. This is so well known to the slave dealers, that they never attempt to prosecute their vile traffic in that country. Nothing, indeed, hurts the pride of these fine fellows more than to insinuate that they are "esclavos," or slaves. Nevertheless, they have among them a small number of captives, taken in war, whom they treat with gentleness.

In physical character, the Grébus and Krus rank among the highest in the division not inappropriately designated by some ethnologists, the Ibu-Ashanti race. They are generally well-made, muscular, active and very powerful. The features of many are good, and the chin well-formed; but in some the feet are rather large and the nose flattened; these latter characteristics are particularly noticeable in those whose colour of skin is lighter. The head inclines more to an oval, and does not rise so high as in their eastern neighbours—the Fantis; and the facial angle, as far as one can judge from ocular comparison, is in favour of the Krus and Grébus. The distinctive mark is a line tattoed along the middle of the forehead, continued over the nose, and a

tripod figure on each temple.* The two middle incisors of the upper jaw are filed away, leaving an angular space.

The two tribes, Grébus and Krus, have been spoken of under one head, as they are really one and the same race; but, unfortunately, an animosity exists between them which causes each to keep aloof, and even sometimes leads to intestine wars. As far as can be learned, one great reason of it has been, the fact, that the Krus returning with their little earnings along the coast from Sierra Leone, have often been way-laid, robbed, and sometimes murdered by the Grébus, or Fishmen. This seems to be the secret of the ill-feeling.

If you ask a Grébu the character of a Kru, he says, "Kru boy big rogue," while the latter replies of the Grébu, "Fishman debblish big rogue," so it is merely a question of comparative honesty between them.

That the kindly disposition of these tribes affords a pleasing contrast to that of most other Africans, will be confirmed when they pass more in review during the difficulties of the Expedition; and we gladly seize this opportunity to bring them under the favourable notice of those who are interested in the emigration of free blacks to our West Indian possessions.

No people on the west coast of Africa labour so well, so cheerfully, or for such low remuneration as the Krus and Grébus, and even the hard and unmerited treatment they sometimes meet with will not discourage them.

* The several admeasurements will be found in the Appendix.

Of the two, the Krumen would probably be found the more useful to be employed as labourers on our Sugar plantations, as they are more accustomed to agricultural pursuits than the Fishmen, who look principally to the sea to afford them occupation. It would be very easy to engage a large number of the former at the rate of from fifteen to twenty shillings per mensem, paid either in money or in English goods.

A great step toward this is already gained in the long established custom which this race of men have, and which is unknown to the rest of the Africans, namely, to hire themselves out at a fixed rate of pay for a term of years. They would, therefore, go to our colonies with a perfect understanding of what they would have to expect and what would be expected of them. The first thing should be to secure some intelligent and very influential Kruman, who would be sure to carry with him a large number of "boys," as all the subordinates are called, to whom they would serve a sort of apprenticeship; among these might be mixed a few liberated Africans, who being acquainted with the head Krumen, and having confidence in them, would more readily embark in an enterprize of which they could not otherwise comprehend the nature. The force of example may induce others to follow, and, by degrees, with proper encouragement to the Kru race, who, from their intelligence and well recognised disposition to industry, must be considered as leaders, a considerable number of labourers might be procured. But it must be done in gangs, as is

customary with ships when they engage Krumen, for it would be hopeless to expect to get a sufficient number to volunteer individually.*

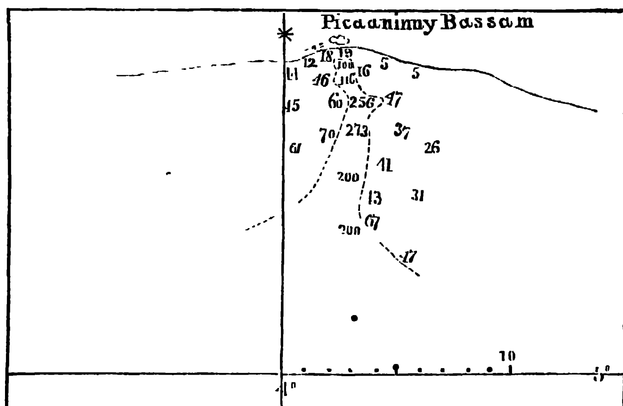
July 18.—As we were able to procure only a small supply of fuel here, we sailed in the afternoon towards our rendezvous, but had not gone far along the coast when the wood—which consumed very rapidly —began to fail, so that reserving six hours' supply for an emergency, we had recourse to our sails; by means of these, with only a light wind, an adverse current and excessive leeway, we not only made very little progress across the bay, between Cape Palmas and Cape Three-points, but we soon became aware that the vessel was setting bodily towards the land. We were, in fact, in that most critical of all situations for a ship—embayed on a dangerous lee-shore. In our case, however, the peril was diminished by the certainty that the wind seldom blows with any force on this coast, and we might trust to our anchors when we should reach soundings. In the early and middle part of the night no bottom was found by the lead, but at 3 A.M. we struck soundings.

On trying another cast, at 4.40 A.M., it had decreased from thirty-seven to eighteen fathoms; and five minutes after, to ten, when we immediately anchored, and had indeed just time to do so, as we heard the breakers roar

* Since these remarks were prepared for publication, we are happy to find the Government has offered every encouragement to this scheme, which we cannot help believing will be followed by the best results.

with fearful warning. We could scarcely see the land, which is here very low and covered with underwood, the sand of the beach being of a light colour; these, together with the extreme darkness and gloom of the morning, prevented our observing it till the sudden decrease of the soundings set sharper eyes to work than those of the drowsy look-out men.

It was indeed a providential escape, we had crossed a part of the bay where the line of one hundred fathoms, after running along shore at a distance of five miles, suddenly turns sharp in towards the shore, and then out again like a loop, having within it no soundings at a depth of one hundred fathoms, until half a mile from the shore. It is called the Bottomless Pit. If



we had been set-in towards this a little sooner, we must inevitably have been lost, as we could not have

found anchorage till within the breakers. It was therefore a mercy that soundings had not been tried half-an-hour sooner, where we probably crossed the "Pit," in two hundred and fifty or two hundred and seventy fathoms: we should then have been lulled into the belief that we were sufficiently far from the shore, and could not have been aware of its dangerous proximity, till too late for such a dull sailer to escape without steam.

At daylight we found we were only half a mile from the shore, with breakers close to us, and a very heavy surf all along the beach.

We immediately got up the steam, weighed and stood right out to sea: when a sufficient "offing" was obtained, we were obliged again to let the steam down, in order to reserve the remaining fuel of only two hours—for a future emergency. This, unfortunately, soon occurred, as before midnight it fell calm, and we were again drifted within two miles of this shore of ill-omen. Anchored till daylight.

July 21.—With the steam, and a light air, we luckily secured a good offing by the time the last piece of wood was expended. We thus were enabled to pass Cape Three-points; which, having now a strong current in our favour, we did in good style.

Soon after this, calm again obliged us to anchor off a place called Bobsum Accra. A very heavy surf here also gave little prospect of being able to procure wood. A boat was however sent to try to communicate with

the natives; Mr. Toby, mate, having volunteered for this dangerous service. He succeeded in landing; but, in attempting to come off again, the boat was swamped, upset, and all were thrown by the surf on the beach, where the natives—being a friendly tribe—rendered them prompt assistance. If such a thing had occurred in the bay of the "Bottomless Pit," they would probably have all been put to death, as the natives of that part are hostile.

The catastrophe was witnessed by all on board, who were anxiously looking on. Mr. Toby and his men were kindly treated by the chief of the village, to whom a present was afterwards sent. By their assistance, the Krumen, with their usual dexterity and cheerfulness, got the boat through the surf on the following morning, and all arrived safely on board.

A melancholy event occurred in the evening, a liberated African, about twenty-two years of age, and apparently in good health, after uttering an exclamation, suddenly expired. He had a few minutes before been speaking with some of his companions, on the prospect of soon seeing their native land. An attempt was made to bleed him, but in vain, stertorous breathing was observed for a few seconds, and he died almost instantly, without doubt, of apoplexy. Of this, indeed, Dr. Pritchett was so firmly convinced, that he thought it unnecessary to shock the prejudices of the coloured people by examining the body.

There were, unfortunately, at this time several cases of fever on board, principally among the West Indian

blacks who were shipped in England, on the supposition that they would enjoy an immunity from the fatal effects which the climate has upon European constitutions.

It was very tantalizing to be so near our rendezvous and resources—for we could almost see Cape Coast Castle—without being able to move, as it continued calm; a boat, however, was sent to communicate with Captain Trotter, and apprize him of our position.

July 24.—Last night Henry Halbert breathed his last. He was a Mulatto, born at Falmouth, and had not served much within the tropics. Soon after the laborious work of wooding at Grand Bassa, he was seized with fever, which though severe at first, admitted some hope of recovery, as his mouth was affected by the mercurial remedies. On the 21st, however, the ptyalism suddenly ceased, and the case went rapidly on to a fatal termination. His remains and those of Wright, were consigned to the deep, after the usual solemn funeral service, which was most devoutly attended by all the crew. We weighed at 6.30. A.M. and with a light air stood towards our port.

About noon we observed the 'Soudan' steaming towards us, she took us in tow, having been despatched by Captain Trotter for that purpose immediately he became acquainted with our difficulties. We arrived in the afternoon at Cape Coast Castle, where we found all our little squadron assembled.

Although the rollers were here also very heavy, we

immediately commenced the operations of taking in coals, stores, provisions, goods for the Model Farm, &c. from the transport, and sending on board of her such articles as we were not likely to want in the river, but which were to be landed at Fernando Po.

The Commissioners went on shore to the Castle, and presented Lord John Russell's letter to Mr. President M'Lean, who professed his cordial desire to forward our views.

The country around Cape Coast is for the most part flat, and, therefore, only presents a line of elevated tropical foliage, enlivened by the large and well-built fortress, which stands forth in bold relief from the surrounding dark green, on a rock close to the sea. Cape Coast may be considered the most important of the European settlements on that portion of the coast, termed, *par excellence*, "the Gold Coast," which is comprised within the following limits: from 1° 10′ east longitude, to 3° 20′ west longitude, and running nearly along the parallel of 5° 10′ north latitude. Of the various settlements which have been at different times attempted on this coast by our countrymen, only four now remain; Dix Cove, Cape Coast Castle, Anamaboe, and Accra; while the Danish and Dutch have also a few factories and forts, of which St. George Del Mina,* near Cape Coast, and Christianberg near Accra, are the principal. Perhaps the cause of the decadence of all the others,

* Del Mina, so named by the first Dutch settlers finding gold and supposing the mine to be near. The discoverer was ennobled with the title of "El-Mina."

and the slow progress of those which remain, may be traced to the Ashanti wars, which, while they depopulated the Fanti country, broke up the commercial interchanges, which before those unfortunate occurrences, were beginning to expand. It would be foreign to the purpose of this narrative, either to trace the history of our possessions on that coast, or to enter on the "*casus belli*" which have impoverished them. Mr. Becham's excellent work on Ashanti, pourtrays too clearly our mismanagement and its consequences. Under the able governance of Captain M'Lean, it is generally admitted that much had been done towards amelioration—trade had improved, though slowly, and the attention of the natives had been turned to agriculture; while he endeavoured to introduce future elements for raising the social and moral condition of the people under his care, by instituting schools, a printing-press, all of which, though now producing so little fruit, will eventually, it is to be hoped, yield a good harvest. Above all, he established a rigid system of justice, and such was the influence he gained over them by moral force, that even distant chiefs came at his summons, to await his decision in cases of dissensions, which would otherwise have led to wars. The great drawback to the furtherance of any useful object among these people, is, in the first place, their evident inferiority to many other African races, in their mental and physical characters; strongly marked by their indisposition to any continuous employment or useful application of means conducive to their own improvement. Indolent as we, alas, know the African too often to be,

here we find among the Fantis the very personification of idleness. To remove this, and to stimulate them to useful exertion, was one of Mr. President M'Lean's great objects.

Sunday 25.—The remaining cases of fever are progressing favourably. After divine service to-day, performed by our estimable chaplain, Mr. Müller, all on board were much amused by the appearance of a large canoe coming from the shore, having two Europeans in the bow and about forty "pull-a-boys," or black paddlers; their noisy vociferation—as with rapid and simultaneous strokes they forced the long canoe through the water—was anything but pleasing to the ear. Instead of coming alongside at once, they pulled several times round the vessel at the top of their speed, singing out in loud chorus, "Pull away—pull away—Gubbernor come, Gubbernor come, Gubbernor come;" then with three cheers they darted her up alongside, when it was discovered to be Governor M'Lean, who, notwithstanding his control over the people, could not induce the "pull-a-boys" to forego a ceremony which they conceived would add to his dignity.

26*th.*—The landing to-day was anything but pleasant, the surf all along the shore being great, and the sharks are said to be both numerous and voracious; but the natives are expert, and know the favourable moment when to push for the landing-place, which is round a little rock not far from the outer bastion of the fort.

Although we possess nothing beyond the walls, the



native town, with its chief and a population of about six thousand, is quite as much under the influence of the Governor of the Castle as if subject to it. With the exception of a few English houses, the town consists of straggling lines of mud-huts, to which little clusters of Palm trees and an occasional Tamarind, add a look of coolness, even under the burning sun of that coast. Suspended from the graceful leaf of the former, we noticed some of the curious and interesting nests of the *Ploceus textor*, or Weaver-bird; formed principally of little shreds of dried grass and palm-leaf, neatly interwoven into an oval-shape, and having a rounded aperture at the upper part; they are fastened by several long grassy filaments to the palm branch, and have a beautiful effect, while their chattering occupants, decorated in their rufous-brown and rich yellow plumage, flitted about as if fearful of our intrusive visit. We must admire the provident instinct evinced in this arrangement of the nests; ensuring protection for the eggs and young, which, in the breeding season, would otherwise be destroyed by the numerous snakes.

On entering several of the huts, the men were found lying about as if there was no possible occasion for working, while the women were employed in some of their simple household duties. The Fantis are thoroughly superstitious; near most of the dwellings could be observed some rude clay or wooden objects, intended for Fetiche worship, and they have their lucky and unlucky days; on the latter, of course, no work is done, from a belief that it would be unsuccessful.

Mr. Freeman, missionary, an active and useful man from all that could be learned, as well as a consistent Christian, who had already made himself well known by his mission to Kumassi, was proceeding steadily with his labours among the Fantis—and seemed to have some hope of their improvement.

While rambling about the town, we found several women engaged in washing the sand left in the little channels caused by the late rains; from which they procured a small quantity of gold dust. Roscher purchased a small but pure sample at a moderate price.

It is to be feared that this searching after the gold is one of the employments which militates against the improvement of the natives. It is a speculative one, sometimes yielding a fair day's return, at others nothing; but as the whole labour falls on the women, the lazy Fanti looks on unconcerned, since the expenditure of the proceeds is usually on his own tastes and pleasures—drinking and smoking.

The natives have several ways of adulterating the gold dust, with filings of copper, brass, &c., it is then called Krakra, but English merchants, by long experience, easily detect it.

The Akim gold is considered the best, having only from four to seven per cent. dross; the next in quality is that from Accra, while that of Cape Coast is the least valuable, having sometimes from fifteen to twenty per cent. dross.

CHAPTER VII.

Messrs. B. Marshall and W. H. Webb volunteer to proceed overland to the confluence of the Niger and Chadda—Resting-place of the gifted L. E. L.—Inscription on the tomb—Fanti soldiers—Indolence of the natives—Dress—Marriages—Gold ornaments usually buried with females—Native method of carrying children—Ornithology—The oriole babbler—Its singular note—Fanti canoe men—Singing and paddling—Mr. Schwansey's model garden—Botany and soil—Governor M'Lean settles a dispute between two Akim chiefs—Isert, the philanthropic Botanist—Growth of coffee—Doctor Vogel's anxiety for his collection—Accra—Its superior salubrity—Gregre idols, or Fetiches—Manufacture of gold ornaments—Moral and physical condition of the people on the Gold Coast—Fanti language—Appearance of the natives—Sail from Accra—Heavy sea—Employed removing Model Farm property from the transport—Liability to mistake the Sengana for the River Nun—Rollers off the mouth of the river—Curious appearance of the "Meeting of the Waters."

Two officers of the Expedition, Mr. Marshall, surgeon, and Mr. Webb, mate of the 'Soudan,' actuated by zeal and the spirit of enterprise, volunteered their services to travel overland from this place—Cape Coast Castle—through Ashanti, to meet the Expedition at the upper part of the Niger. The Commissioners consulted

Mr. President M'Lean on the feasibility of the project; which he at one declared to be impracticable, especially at this season of the year. There were also other very serious objections in addition to those adduced by the President, which related to the difficulty and risk of such an undertaking. In the first place, it was very questionable whether a sufficient motive had been made out. Secondly, we had only the requisite number of officers for the duties of the vessels, and especially while we were ignorant of the demand which the well-known sickliness of the climate would make on the medical officers, it would be imprudent to spare one for detached service. Thirdly, it was uncertain whether we should, in the vessels, be able to reach the "Upper Niger"—in itself a vague term; but admitting this, it would have been impossible for travellers overland through unknown countries, to arrive at any given spot on the banks of the Niger in time to meet us there. We thought the converse of this plan might have been practicable, if the strength and zeal of the officers should still prompt them to the dangerous undertaking; that is to say, in the event of our reaching Bussah or its neighbourhood, a traveller starting from thence in the dry season, might with comparative ease come through Yarriba and Ashanti to the coast. President M'Lean promised to send timely instructions to the chiefs, to ensure a safe conduct should such be attempted.

This energetic Governor entered readily in fact into

all our views, and promised every assistance in his power in furtherance of them.

Captain Tucker, also, the senior officer on the coast, whom we fortunately fell in with, gave the most cordial offers of co-operation. An order from the Admiralty directed that a vessel of his squadron should be anchored off the mouth of the Rio Nun, and remain there while the Expedition should be up the river, in order to be able to render assistance in case of emergency.

The strict system of blockade which this lamented officer had already established, enabled him easily to comply with this, and he gave general instructions to the officers in his squadron to aid us on all occasions.

We were fully occupied during our stay at Cape Coast Castle in trans-shipping from the transport our stores and provisions, and the goods for the Model Farm; profiting by the fineness of the weather here—though there was much inconvenience from the heavy swell—in order that we might be detained a shorter time off the entrance to the Niger, where it might not be so favourable, and certainly would be less healthy.

In the meantime, Governor M'Lean's hospitable invitations induced all the officers who could be spared to visit the Castle, where he left nothing undone which could add to their comfort or amusement. This edifice is large, strongly built and commodious; furnished in a manner that would appear scanty to persons whose ideas of comfort require a well carpetted room, &c. But it was very suitable to a climate, where it is desirable above all

things, that superfluous furniture should be discarded, in order that the aspect should conduce as much as possible to the idea of coolness.

In passing across the square within the walls, an object of deep interest presents itself in the little space containing all that was mortal of the late Mrs. M'Lean; the once well-known, amiable and accomplished L. E. L. A plain marble slab, bearing the following inscription, is placed over the spot:

Hic jacet sepultum,
Omne quod mortale fuit
Letitiæ Elizabethæ M'Lean,
Quam egregia ornatam indole, Musis
Unice amatam. Omniumque amores
Secum trahentem; in ipso ætatis flore,
Mors immatura rapuit.
Die Octobris xv., mdcccxxxviii. Ætatis xxxvi.
Quod spectas viator marmor vanum
Heu doloris monumentum
Conjux mærens erexit.

The beams of the setting sun threw a rich but subdued colouring over the place, and as we stood in sad reflection on the fate of the gifted poetess, some fine specimens of the *Hirundo Senegalensis*, or African swallow, fluttered gracefully about, as if to keep watch over a spot sacred indeed to the Muses; while the noise of the surf, breaking on the not distant shore, seemed to murmer a requiem over departed genius.

The troops of the garrison consisted of about eighty

men, under Captain M'Lean—the brother of the Governor; who had got them into fair discipline, which we can well imagine to have been no easy matter, considering the antipathy these people have to any sort of active exercise.

Everywhere there seemed to be abundance of good fruit, Pine-apples, Plantains, Bananas, and some Oranges, as well as vegetables; labour is the only requisite to produce almost anything from the soil, which is too rich for such indolent possessors.

We observed here, as at several points along the coast, that some of the people were more or less daubed with clay; this is practised by those who are suffering from disease; being one of the principal native methods of cure for many disorders, especially head-aches and febrile attacks.

The only clothing worn by them is a waist-cloth of blue and white cotton of native manufacture, or handkerchiefs of Manchester stuff, with strings of beads round the neck, waist and ankles.

The female usually marries, or more properly enters on a state of concubinage, at fifteen, when all the gold ornaments and dresses she can muster are displayed on her person. At her decease, any of these which may actually have been her own property are buried with her; but as the body is generally interred within the hut, they are not often allowed to remain: the Fantis having less compunction than any Africans, we know, about disturbing the dead.

The women always carry their infants about with them, seated on a little pad or cushion, called a kanki, secured to the mother behind.

Some nice specimens of ornithology were procured in the neighbouring woods, one of these the *Crateropus Oriolides*, or Oriole babbler, possesses a varied and pleasing note, and may be ranked as the highest of African warblers. It sometimes whistles so truly like a person going through a native air, that the sportsman is often deterred from firing, under the impression that there must be a woolly-headed performer in the bush, until the anxious specimen-hunter becomes impatient and silences the little songster.

The surf on embarking was very bad, and brought into play all the experience and care of our Fanti canoe men. The canoes are of different sizes, most of them being suitable for about eight or ten persons, while others have as many as thirty or forty in their crew; they are flat-bottomed, and rise a little at each end. The passengers are placed in the bow, which is surrounded by high "weather-boards," to "fend off" the spray of the surf.

Before launching the canoe, they watch for a lull, in which they shove off; but in going through the worst part of the surf they paddle slowly, chanting a sort of solemn dirge, which is intended to propitiate their Fetiche, and ensure safety. When past all danger, they strike out in good style—if they expect to be well paid—using their broken English to sing some subject connected with the passengers, and every now and then

hitting the side of the canoe with the paddle. The following is a sample: "Man o' war come again—come again—come again," repeated over and over, with an occasional "whish," during which they take a long slow stroke; then probably will come in "White man—good man, dash a dollar, dollar, dollar," "White offisher dash dollar, big white dollar," &c. They say, "Plenty money, plenty song."

The Ashantee princes, Quantamissah and John Ansah, were sent from the 'Albert' to the care of Governor M'Lean. As much expense has been incurred by friends who take an interest in the scions of African royalty, and much good ought to be anticipated from their example among the Ashantis, it is to be hoped they may justify, by their conduct, the expectations that have been formed of them.

One of the spots near Cape Coast well worth a visit is the model garden and plantation under the superintendence of Mr. Schwansey, an English merchant, who has been endeavouring for some years to introduce a better system of culture. It is called Napoleon, and is about four or five miles from the town. The road thither is somewhat tortuous and bad, but the scenery is fine. Like everything else connected with Cape Coast, it suffered much during the Ashanti wars, and no one but an enterprising and zealous man would have made an attempt to support it.

Almost every species of tropical fruit and vegetable grows well, and even the bread fruit *(Artocarpus incisa)*

was visible, with its rich dark foliage. Some attention has also been paid to the growth of coffee, but it does not remunerate the cultivator. It seems to be a strange, but certain fact, that although the small-grained coffees of the greater part of West Africa, more especially Sierra Leone and Cape Coast, are admitted to be equal in flavour to the general descriptions of Mocha, there should be so little remunerative inducement to cultivate it. Does this proceed from the duty levied on its arrival in England? or does the difficulty of procuring continuous labour among the natives occasion it? That coffee could be made one of the best articles of export cannot be doubted; why it is not so may be better explained by those who understand the causes operating against its more general cultivation and increase in our West African settlements.

With the exception of a half-shrubby *Cassia*, somewhat similar to the *Occidentalis* or Stink-weed senna, but with a round divided fruit, there is nothing of botanical novelty near the town; nor at such a season —the conclusion of the rains—could much be expected, even in the interior. In an excursion of six miles, not one *Monocotyledon* was met with in flower, although many are said to be found in the dry season, of the most beautiful colours. The difference of the vegetation between this and Cape Palmas is in general very great. Here the *Leguminosæ* were predominant, and the *Rubiaceæ* less prevalent. The *Mimosæ*, with their graceful characteristic foliage, which had hitherto been

seen but rarely, now became conspicuous. The country was varied with hill and dale, covered with shrubs six or seven feet high, while here and there lofty cotton trees towered on high, or the less assuming iron-wood tree, a species apparently of *Siderodendron*. One tree of considerable height was found to be in flower and fruit, and seemed to be a new genus allied to *Crescentia;* the fruit is filled with firm, solid pulp, two feet long, half a foot broad, hanging downwards, as also the flowers, by a long pedicle. There was also the magnificent Fan palm, but not abundant; and from a few stems noticed, it is probable that some sorts of *Calamus* are common further inland. The *Poinciana pulcherrima*, or Barbadoes fence flower, in full bloom, lined the road-sides, interspersed with yellow *Compositæ*. At the west end of the town, a beautiful avenue of *Hibiscus* was a most interesting feature.

We had an opportunity of witnessing the arrangement of one of the numerous disputes which are referred to the Governor from all parts of the neighbouring country—of itself a sufficient proof they consider him to be impartial and wise in his administrations.

The case was explained by native interpreters to be a feud between two Akim chiefs, but in such a round-about way, that no person could make much of it, except that *some one* was guilty of having committed murder and outrage. Governor M'Lean here shewed his perfect estimate of the Fanti character, by punishing *both*. However strange it may sound to an Englishman's ears, it was at

least a verdict likely to be of use to them. Similar to making each party pay his own costs in our own courts of jurisdiction, it would diminish the tendency to aggression, while both appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the decision. When the case was terminated, the disputants withdrew, amid loud plaudits at the Governor's sagacity, and beating of drums and tomtoms. Each of the chiefs was carried away in a palanquin, attended by his sword-bearer, cane-bearer, tail-bearer, and many followers.

Saturday, July 31.—The 'Wilberforce' sailed this morning, from Cape Coast Castle, the 'Albert' and 'Soudan' having preceded us last night. We were ordered to tow the transport, if necessary. That vessel, however, sailed so well that she was soon out of sight: but in this case the race was not to the swift, as we arrived before her at British Accra, about noon, on the 1st of August, and she anchored in the evening. At this place, fresh provisions were procured; and some large canoes for service in the river had already been purchased by President M'Lean for the Expedition.

Dr. Vogel, the botanist, and Dr. Stanger, our geologist, made an excursion to Danish Accra, for which Governor M'Lean kindly furnished the means. They set out in two little carriages, each drawn by four negroes—here also the ordinary way for Europeans to travel. They were introduced to Mr. Dall, the Danish Governor, by Mr. Richter, a Danish merchant, and by Mr. M'Lean. "The forts here inhabited by the Europeans, are not important; they consist of a few large houses,

with lofty, airy rooms, surrounded by a wall and breast-work, white-washed, and conspicuous at a great distance. This is classic ground for a botanist; for here Isert and Thonning formed the collections which have made the world acquainted with this Flora. The humane spirit of Isert, so zealously expressed in his writings on behalf of the negroes, rendered this place very interesting; the more so, as we were engaged in an enterprise aiming at the same objects which he had endeavoured to attain during the last years of his life. No authentic information could be obtained of Isert's establishments in the interior: after his decease they had gone to decay. Mr. De Kohns, who was reported to have assumed the management, and introduced the plough, and who was represented in various works to have done so much, never got here, as Mr. Richter and the Danish Governor positively declared. Since Isert's time, indeed, no one has troubled himself about these plantations; and about the year 1808 they were altogether given up. Everything is now a wilderness, and the place is not to be recognised. Flindt established about this time another plantation, on the River Volta, near the port, the main object being distillation; but this was soon dropped. About ten years back, another plantation was made at the foot of the mountain in Aguapim, named 'Frederick's gave;' and as they wished to visit it, Mr. Dall had the kindness to indulge them, though he said it was not important, and the superintendent being sick, that it would not be in a very satisfactory state. The distance is fourteen or

fifteen miles: the only way of getting there is by a sort of palanquin or basket, carried by means of two poles, on the heads of two, sometimes four, negroes. Mr. Dall, by providing abundantly for all their wants, caused the *cortège* to amount to about sixteen persons. The direction, according to the compass, was almost exactly N. by E. They started at half-past eleven o'clock. The greatest part of the way was through Savannahs, covered with grasses and *Cyperaceæ*, intermixed with many species of shrubby and half shrubby *Leguminosæ*, besides many *Malvaceæ*, though only a few species. Trees were scattered about, viz., *Bombax*, the genus of Cape Coast, which appears related to *Crescentia*, *Ficus*, *Fan palms*, *Euphorbia drussifera*, quite distinct on account of its naked spur-like branches, with only a few stiff leaves at the extreme points; and near the village and huts, *Tamarinds* and *Hibiscus*. Near the coast the soil is sandy, like decomposed sandstone; it now improved, and served for the culture of Indian corn, *Cassava*, *Yams*, *Arachis*, various sorts of *Cucurbitæ*, and *Bananas*. *Cocos* were cultivated but little here, or in any part of Africa which we have seen. They crossed several ridges of hills, affording pleasant views over the surrounding country, covered with fresh green, and got then into the jungle, where the shrubs common on this coast grew abundantly, about a man's height, and closely interwoven with creepers. *Leguminosæ* diminished, *Rubiaceæ* increased, and *Sarcocephalus*, described by Schumacher as *Cephalina esculenta*, was not uncommon.

They arrived at the settlement towards six o'clock P.M., too late to see much. The house of the superintendent lies half-way up the mountain ridge, and is roomy and comfortable. Being white-washed, it is seen far off. At the foot of the mountain is a negro village and the plantation. Having passed the night comfortably, in consequence of the friendly care of Mr. Dall, and being supplied with every convenience, they were up at the dawn of day—thermometer, 73½ Fahr. The mountain is quartz rock, covered in many places—often to the thickness of several feet—with vegetable mould, overgrown, when not cultivated, with brushwood. The site of the house was at an elevation of one thousand feet. One hundred feet above it was a high Oil palm. The brushwood consisted chiefly of *Rubiaceæ*, interwoven with *Convolvuli*; few in flower, and none remarkable. In the plantation were the usual edible plants of this country. The settlement consists of a coffee ground of no great extent. Governor Dall said, that about three years back, the trees had been destroyed by an insect; and they were now very small, three to four feet high, but thriving, and bearing abundantly. The soil is excellent, and rich: but the establishment looks neglected, which must be ascribed to the absence of the superintendent. Close by is another coffee ground belonging to Mr. Richter. Near these grounds is an avenue of Sour-sops, *Anona muricata*, and oranges; and close by, several trees, just now with ripe fruit, clearly the

Akee, or *Blighia sapida*. These seemed to have been planted; but on looking into Schumacher's description of Guinea plants, *Cupania edulis* is mentioned as an indigenous tree, which is probably identical with the above."

On Dr. Vogel's return on board H.M.S. 'Wilberforce,' with his usual anxiety to advance the branch of science committed to his charge, his first duty was to shift his whole collection, especially that made during our stay at Cape Coast; but although he had taken the greatest care, he found many specimens spoiled, and almost all in a bad state.

As it is possible that some persons may have been surprised at the imperfect and unsatisfactory condition of the herbarium made by that talented and persevering botanist, we subjoin a passage from his manuscript, which will shew the difficulties in which he was placed from the unavoidable want of space on board ship; but even though surrounded by the numerous disadvantages inseparable from a position afloat, the result of his labours evidenced, that had he been spared to make a deeper research into the Flora of Western Africa, he would have left little undone.

He says, "It has been my lot with almost all my collections on this coast, that with endless labour, I could only get together ill-conditioned plants; for dampness and want of room were obstacles impossible to overcome, and they forced me at last to satisfy myself with the miserable consolation that I have done all that the cir-

cumstances would permit.* I mention this on purpose that, in case my collection should come into other hands, I may not be accused of negligence. I have sacrificed every convenience to give rooms, and spared no trouble to overcome the dampness of the ship and the atmosphere, but without success. The general arrangements of a man-of-war do not allow much chance for such experiments. When will the time arrive when expeditions, whose results must depend on the observations of naturalists, will afford them the necessary and appropriate support? At present, the vessels are fitted up for other purposes, and it is left to chance to discover a little nook for the philosopher. I was now obliged to devote the two days that we still remained at Accra to the drying of my collection, that all might not be lost."

Accrah or Accra, is the most eastern of the British factories on the Gold Coast, and as far as the eye is concerned, is the worst situated, being built on even lower ground than Cape Coast Castle; but there is less of the thick underwood which prevails near the latter, and more general attention is paid on the part of the natives, to keep the superfluous vegetation under.

The Danes have a factory (Christiansberg) at a short distance from ours, which is said to be well regulated, and business is rather on the increase. The small one belonging to the Dutch is unimportant.

* To this Captain Allen strongly bears testimony. One great cause of the lamented doctor's disappointment, was his excusable ignorance of the amount of available space in a man-of-war.

Like Cape Coast, the most prominent feature is the fort, the white-washed front of which, though dilapidated, serves to shew out more strongly the flat character of the surrounding country.

The surf here is very bad, and extends much further out than at most other places; nevertheless, it is generally possible to land at the expense of a good wetting. Some of the English houses are large, and comfortably arranged for the climate, especially Mr. Bannerman's.

Accra has the reputation of being the most healthy point along the coast, although the statistics of our military, when they were formerly employed there, show a mortality quite incompatible with this belief, and one more in accordance with the low and insalubrious appearance of the locality. The native dwellings are much the same as at Cape Coast, but, if anything, dirtier, while their tenants are decidedly behind their neighbours in improvement. At several places Fetiche figures of various characters were displayed; some of them *pro bono publico*, yet without any want of others, private or household. Most parts of the town are intersected with deep water-courses, formed during the rains, which, if not thus carried off, would form an unwholesome marsh.

The only occupation of any importance among the natives is the searching after gold, and its subsequent manufacture into various trinkets. The latter is only followed by a few whose position is more respectable.

Their instruments are few and extremely rude, yet they make very beautiful chains, and finish them in a style hardly to be expected from such imperfect means. The rings are mostly plaited, of a fine cable-twisted wire, and are pretty. The chief value of the jewellery of this and the other places on the coast, arises from the purity of the gold employed, scarcely any alloy being admitted. Many of the articles sent from thence to Europe are melted down, and re-manufactured with a remunerative admixture of less valuable metals.

The exports of Cape Coast and Accra are more valuable than abundant, being principally gold dust, ivory, gums, palm oil, coffee, and latterly, the ground-nut, *Arachis hypogea*, which, as containing an excellent oil, is much in demand. The imports are chiefly cotton goods, earthenware, muskets, knives, gunpowder, beads, aguadiente, tobacco, and such European luxuries as are required by our countrymen resident there.

All our merchants regretted the former unfortunate collisions with the Ashanti kingdom, and spoke of of them as having destroyed the fair prospect which once existed of opening up the interior of Africa to our commerce, and the gradual diffusion of more enlightened views among the native Princes. At one time, the amount of British manufactures carried to Kumasi was very great, but it almost ceased with the Ashanti wars; and although said to be of late somewhat increasing, it will require a long period to re-establish the traffic,

which does not now extend more than forty or fifty miles from the sea-coast.

Although Accra is under the jurisdiction of Cape Coast, and is within the Fanti country, a large part of the population is from the adjacent tribes of Agoona and Inkran, as well as from others more in the interior. Before leaving this, it is, perhaps, better to say something on the moral condition and physical characters of a people with whom in our possessions there, we have had much intercourse.

The Fantis inhabit that part of the Gold Coast included between the River Sekoom, 0° 2′ west longitude, and Cape Three-points, 1° 58′ west longitude. In this distance all are not pure Fantis, but such admixture has taken place, as obliges us thus to dispose of them. That all the tribes included in this portion of the coast, and thence inland to Ashanti, have had one common origin, and are probably included in one race—the Inta—appears in the numerous philological coincidences met with in examining the several dialects as far as they have yet been obtained. Even at Accra—which some suppose to have been peopled by a distinct race—perhaps the mountain negroes of Adampi—the language offers many similarities, as mentioned by Mr. De Graft. Whether this depends on the intercourse which has obtained of later years between that and other portions of the coast, remains to be proved. Mr. Bowdich states that the Ashantis have a popular belief that the As-hantis, Fantis, Was-sang, Akims, Assins, Aquambus, were included

in twelve tribes or families, each having a symbol of its own, and which yet connects the scattered members of each to one another.

In general, the Fantis on the sea-coast have an appearance of height somewhat above the middle size, but which, in reality, is not so; the too frequent leanness of the body and meagreness of the extremities causing this. The joints are large and bony, as also the hands and feet, which are quite African in shape. The head is round, rather than oval, and rises to such an extent as to present much of what is styled the pyramidal form of cranium. The face is long, and the chin prognathous, or protruding forward, more than in any other race we have met with; the nose frequently flat, the lips thick, and ears large. The skin is brownish-black; in many of them dry, and inclined to be harsh; it has little gloss. The females, although not much better featured, are often in better condition, their skin softer, and their appearance generally more prepossessing than the other sex. We looked in vain to realize any of the descriptions given by Barbot of the physical characters of these people. Skin affections and country fevers are the most common diseases, with sometimes dysentery.

They are under the nominal dominion of chiefs or caboceers, of whom King Agry, at Cape Coast, is one of the most influential. Each of the different towns or krooms, has a pynim or chief magistrate. Since the Ashanti wars, they have been more or less tributary to

the latter, although the large annual fine or exaction, once so oppressive, no longer exists.

In all probability, the Ashantis would have exterminated them had not British influence raised up a barrier for their protection in the friendly relations established between Kumasi and the authorities at Cape Coast Castle. As before stated, Governor M'Lean has directed much attention to the improvement of those under his especial charge, as also to raise them in the estimation of their neighbours; but such is the degraded state of the people, and their antipathy to a change of their moral, social, or religious condition, that no one but an enthusiast can hope much for them.

Wednesday, August 4.—The Expedition left Accra for its final rendezvous off the mouth of the Niger. The 'Wilberforce' weighed at 8 P.M., and having the 'Soudan' in tow, we made less rapid progress than the 'Albert.' The 'Amelia' tender kept company with us.

Sunday, August 8.—In the evening, the weather being extremely bad, with squalls, a heavy sea and a great deal of rain, we were obliged to cast off the 'Soudan' to shift for herself.

Soon afterwards we struck soundings in twenty-three fathoms, and therefore stood off and on shore till daylight, when we anchored abreast of the mouth of a river; but from the excessive gloom of the weather, it was quite impossible to ascertain which of the many outlets of the Niger.

We remained at anchor all day. The air was charged

with electricity, and had a very depressing effect; while the low and dense clouds hung over the prospect like an impenetrable veil. On the following morning, we made out that we had anchored off the Rio Sengana; as it cleared up, we saw H. M. S. 'Albert' and 'Buzzard' lying about eight miles to the S. E.

Weighed and ran towards them; and in the course of the day all the Expedition assembled off the Rio Nun, by which mouth of the Niger we intended to enter.

The weather was so bad here and with such a heavy sea, especially in shallow water, that the vessels were obliged to anchor eight or nine miles from the entrance of the river. The heavy rolling very much impeded our operation of taking in our last supply of coals, stores and provisions, and even rendered it dangerous to the boats and the men employed in them. The goods, especially, belonging to the Model Farm, were difficult to remove, on account of the weight, bulk and quantity. The promoters of that auxiliary undertaking being naturally anxious to ensure its prosperity as far as depended on their exertions, had spared no expense in providing everything which could be required for its advancement. It would perhaps have been better for them, and would have caused much less delay to the Expedition if these supplies, so generously furnished, had been proportioned to the progressive wants of an infant settlement.

When the freshes came out, the line of demarcation between the river and sea-water could be distinctly traced for many miles along the shore with its tortuous

line of foam, the salient points indicating the various *débouchures*. The colour of the fresh-water was of a loamy yellow, that of the salt-water an olive green. The contention between them was very remarkable on first coming in contact, but being specifically lighter, the mastery of the former over its huge opponent was certain and quite palpable to the eye, though the conquest seemed to require effort on the part of the aggressor; the ebullition was indeed so great that the water came in at the cabin windows, which had not occurred before, with all the heavy swell we had experienced on this coast.

At this time the current was observed to set one mile per hour towards S.W.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Expedition enters the Nun branch of the Niger—Death of Bach, the instrument-maker from fever—Physical characters of the mouth of the river—Curious effect of the rising tide—Chemical examination of the waters—Geology—Shells—Bodies of females exposed on the sea-beach—Surprise of the natives at our interest in them—Woods on the right bank—Beautiful birds—The black swallow—Rhyncops, or scissor-bill—Dangers of seining—Saw-fish sharks—The village of Akassa—Dwellings of the natives—Their customs—Diseases of the natives—The Chief, Enemery—'Boy's' traffic with Abòh—'Jack Fire'—The Reverend J. Müller's prayer—Pass through Louis Creek—Magnificent scenery—Monkeys in their native woods—Village of Paraboli—Alligator as a Ju-ju, or Fetiche—Alarm of the natives—Stillness of the Niger at night—Insect music—Natives—Rum preferred to Coffee—Village of Kiamblì—White man said to live at Tchebhy—Rude Ju-ju idol—Ingyama—Inhabitants terrified by the 'Devil ship'—Lofty trees—New channel—Ogulbah—Scenery—Otua—Communication with the natives—Curious fashions in arranging the hair.

Friday, August 13.—The time had now arrived for the commencement of the arduous undertaking, to which our thoughts had been so long directed. H.M. steam-vessels 'Albert' and 'Soudan' having completed their preparations, weighed at daylight, and—under the pilotage of Lieutenant Levinge, who had previously

examined it—steamed over the bar in safety, though with a considerable surf, as the time of high water was not favourable.



15*th*.—The 'Wilberforce' having more goods and furniture to take for the Model Farm, was not ready till this morning. We weighed at daylight. By crossing the bar at three-quarters flood, we had it very smooth, and the last of the tide aided us to the anchorage.

It was a moment of deep and breathless expectation; both as being a passage of considerable difficulty; and as being the first absolute step in that path, so full of novelty and exciting interest, but which all knew must be fraught with danger; yet their zeal did not suffer such anticipations to darken their prospect, and the accomplishment of the entrance of the River Niger was announced by three cheers from the whole crew.

Our course over the dangerous bar may be interesting to future navigators. From the anchorage, we steered N.E. till the east point of the river—known by a large leafless tree, like a gallows—comes midway between Point Tilana and another point further up the river, and bearing N. by E. half E., then being in four and a half fathoms, the channel was open on a N. by E. course. The least sounding we had was fifteen feet. We anchored near the 'Albert' three-fourths of a mile inside Cape Nun, in four and a half fathoms.

On communicating with the senior officer, we were informed of the death of Bäch, the instrument-maker, who died from effects of fever, not however referrible to the climate. He was a very useful and obliging person, and was a great loss. His remains were interred the following evening on the right bank by lanthorn light, and, as many of the coloured men were present, it formed a solemn but interesting scene.

The rudder tails of all the vessels had been lost by constant friction and corrosion on the passage out, it was therefore necessary to lay them on the sandy beach in order to repair these defects.

This was found to be very difficult, in the case of the 'Wilberforce,' owing to a heavy swell which set in, and rendered two or three attempts abortive. We took advantage of this opportunity to scrub off the grass and barnacles which had adhered to the bottom.

The 'Soudan' having run up the estuary immediately on entering, to examine Louis Creek, which was believed

to be the only access to the main branch of the Niger, unfortunately got aground and remained there all night.

A boat, sent also to try the soundings all round Alburkah Island, found nine feet to be the least water in Louis Creek, while on the west side of the island, where the channel appeared to be very wide, in some places it was only one or two feet. Nothing in fact, can be more deceiving than the outlets of the mighty Niger. While broad and imposing branches are seen in various directions, the only navigable channel hitherto discovered, is so narrow, that our vessels could not turn in it. Yet the *embouchure* which we had entered would appear to justify the most extravagant anticipations that could be formed of the river. This is, however, a mere reservoir, of which nature has provided no less than twenty along a coast of more than one hundred and fifty miles in extent;—the Delta, in fact, formed by the deposit brought down by the floods. The small rise and fall of the sea in this part—hardly six feet—appears to require such reservoirs to collect the prodigious volume of water which is deposited on so large a surface of Africa—and of which the river is the drainage—in order to discharge it at several points into the universal receptacle.

The Rio Nun, from its size, has the appearance of an estuary, being more than a mile and a half wide and five miles in length; the other outlets resemble this. The water is deep in every part of it. The rise and fall at spring-tides is 5 ft. 6 in., and at neaps 4 ft. 8 in. The

ebb-tide sets out with a velocity of three miles and three-quarters or four miles in the middle of the river. At low water the current was, near the banks, 0·3 of a mile.

At a quarter breadth . .	0·36	"
In the middle . . .	0·6	"

This was at the period of our visit. When the freshes come down, it is of course much stronger, but in the dry season less rapid.

We have reason to believe that the resistance offered by the strong current of the river to the advance of the sea-water at flood, is sometimes overcome by the latter in a tremendous rolling surf, or "bore," as during our stay we had two opportunities of witnessing this in a partial degree, about half a mile above where the vessels lay.

At half-flow of the tide, a tumultuous line was discernible near the right bank, extending across one-third of the river, and slanting somewhat upwards. When within one hundred yards of the bank, it came on in the form of an immense breaker, diffusing itself in the sluggish water of the neighbouring lagoon, to which direction it was probably diverted by the more powerful central current. It had a very singular appearance, all the other parts of the river being as smooth as glass. One of our whale-boats was almost swamped by it, although having merely encountered the least violent division of it.

The water of the river is of a loamy colour and is sweet to the taste. Mr. Roscher tested it chemically with the nitrate of silver, and other reagents, in order to

detect sulphuretted hydrogen, and did not find it to be in the least discoloured by them. After having been exposed two days to the atmosphere, it was quite clear, but then began to smell of sulphuretted hydrogen, which he discovered by the above-mentioned agency. After having been kept a greater length of time the odour ceased, the taste was good, and there was no indication of this gas.

The water at low tide was nearly pure, but with a slightly saline taste, and we only found in it a small quantity of the muriate of magnesia, combined with calcareous matter. The sediment obtained from one pint and a half of the river-water, weighed forty-one grains when dry, and was at first blue—like the clay in the bed of the river—with a film of red colour. On being disturbed, the whole became reddish; the first weighed thirty-five grains, the last only six, and consisted chiefly of oxide of iron. By a rough analysis it was found to contain oxide of iron, carbonate of iron, oxide of manganese, with a large portion of vegetable matter.

We took in water for the ship's consumption alongside and filtered it, after treating it with a solution of chloride of lime.

The temperature of the fresh-water was lower than that of the sea: on leaving the anchorage outside the bar, we found it gradually decrease as we got within the river; but we had not sufficient time and opportunity to be able to determine, by frequent and simultaneous

observations, the relative difference, which was indeed variable, being of course modified by change of weather and other circumstances.

The opposite sides of the river appear, according to Mr. Roscher, to be of different formation. Cape Nun, the termination of the right bank, has a long spit of sand running into the sea about one mile and a half. "This shore is generally swampy, formed by a deposit of mud, brought down by the river, the outside of which presents a sandy appearance; and is intersected by innumerable channels of water, of a brackish and putrid taste. Where dry spots are found, they are cultivated by the natives from the other side. The sand continues till the sea meets the fresh-water stream. A deposit of lamellar mica, and fine vegetable matter, the last of which is brought down by the river, and washed out by the sea; but the quantity is so small, that it would take centuries to form a stratum of any importance. The bed of the river is covered with a blue clay, rich in vegetable matter, and coloured by oxide of iron, similar to the clay observed in the bed of the sea outside the bar. Whenever the clay was broken by the rapidity of the current, the pieces were immediately carried off by the moving water; and it often happened that the spring tides washed them ashore, in the shape of cylinders. These being left behind by the retreating ocean, formed one of the peculiar characters of the right bank of the river.

The clay of the river-deposit is of a ferruginous

character, with oxide of iron, oxide of manganese, carbonate of iron, supercarburetted iron, and the precipitation of substances chemically dissolved."

The following shells were found on the shore:—*Donax, Solen, Lima, Conus,* and *Mactra.*

In the swampy parts of the right bank, the mangrove, *Rhyzophora,* abounds, with its peculiar fructification. There are two species of this tree, one growing very low, and having a white wood; the other is a rather high tree, with a fine red wood, which burns well as fuel. The bark is very astringent. The numerous arching roots of this tree are favourable for the deposition of sand and mud.

In the woods on this bank, which were visited for the purpose of procuring specimens, the water was upwards of two feet deep in most parts, and the air close and confined. The greater portion of the underwood was *Rhyzophora,* or mangrove. The stillness of this solitary region was occasionally broken by the *Halcyon Senegalensis,* or grey-headed king-hunter, which in its rich blue and cinereous grey plumage, flitted from tree to tree, almost the sole occupant of the place. Near the outskirts, we met one of the most interesting species of *Macrodypterix,* the pennant-winged night-jar, with its long filiform feather attached to each wing.

On returning to the boat, a new and beautiful species of swallow, the *Hirundo nigrita,* since figured in Mitchell's superb work on the genera of birds, was discovered performing its rapid evolutions over a placid pool

of water, into which it dipped the ends of its long and graceful wings, as it picked up the tiny insects for an evening's repast. Along the beach at low water, many pretty wading birds were seen, and some captured. The *Sterna melanoptera*, or black-winged tern; the *Sterna Senegalensis*, or Senegal tern; the *Glareola megapoda* and *Cinerea*; the great footed and rufous necked pranticoles, as also the *Hiaticula Heywoodii*, or Nun River plover; while large numbers of a black and white species of scissor-bill, *Rhyncops Orientalis* of Rüppel, moved about in a rapid and irregular manner. They did not seem to be procuring their food from the water, generally flying some feet above it; but while on the ground they were actively engaged searching with their extraordinarily shaped beaks, both mandibles of which are thin, compressed and very sharp, the lower one being much the longest, and fitting into a sort of groove in the upper.

Several times, when the Krumen could be spared, the seine was used in one of the neighbouring lagoons, and abundance of fish procured; but most of them had an earthy taste, probably from the condition of the water. On one occasion, while so employed, some of the party were obliged to swim across with the ends of the hauling lines, not aware of the occupants of the place, among whom, on concluding the draught, several saw-fish sharks, *Pristis squalus*, were captured. Although these are less dangerous than many of the family, they can inflict a severe and painful wound with their many-toothed and elongated snout.

While taking a walk along the shore, to the right of the river, we met several natives, who had been sent over from Akassa, to observe our movements. They all, more or less, spoke Spanish, no doubt acquired from their communication with the Spanish and Portuguese slave vessels, which formerly frequented this river. All of them were athletic and well-built, but with apish and unprepossessing features; the face marked with perpendicular lines over the cheek-bones. They wore strings of blue beads round the loins, with a very limited portion of chequered blue and white cotton cloth, which required all their ingenuity to cover effectually any part of the person.

We were not a little shocked on seeing the body of a female, evidently not long deceased, lying exposed near high-water mark, where it had probably been left by the retreating tide. The natives when spoken to about it, laughed, and seemed to wonder why we could be interested in such matters; and gave us to understand that it was very likely to be one of the people sacrificed at some place up the river, and brought down by the current. One, if not more, were passed at other spots not far distant, which strengthened the supposition, that some great Fetiche tragedy had lately been enacted. We could not help thinking that the people up the river, having received intimation of our arrival, had thus been propitiating their idols to grant exclusive benefits to them, or destruction to us.

The left bank of the river consists of sand, inter-

mingled with clay of a dirty yellow colour-less intersected by channels—in which abundance of fresh and salt-water shells are found.

This bank was firm, two feet above the high-water mark, and consequently capable of cultivation. The plantations were chiefly of plantains. Trees were found here more than one hundred feet high, while palms of sixty or eighty feet in height expanded their majestic leaves.

On this bank there is a small irregularly built village, Akassa, containing about two hundred inhabitants. The men are well-made and active, and occupy themselves in fishing and the culture of small plantations of cassada, Indian-corn, and bananas. Tobacco, and spirituous liquors, of which they are excessively fond, are procured in exchange for palm-oil from the traders which occasionally touch here; but when the slave trade was more actively followed at this branch of the Niger, they obtained those luxuries from the slavers, for assisting them in shipping off the human cargoes, and for keeping watch along the coast for the cruizers. The huts are quadrangular, small, but clean dwellings, built of bamboo, and roofed with palm-leaves; they are mostly of two compartments, communicating with each other. The bed-places are flat narrow boards, raised about eighteen inches on four stones. Fires are always kept in the huts during the rainy season, and when unemployed, the family usually congregate round the smoking embers. The chief of this village is

tributary to another at no great distance from Akassa. They admitted that human sacrifices do take place at certain Fetiche rites—the victims are slaves.

The dead are buried in their huts; if a male, and possessed of any articles of dress or household furniture, these are placed for a short time on the grave.

When some of the officers landed, the people ran away in affright, but soon returned, on finding they were English, and not Spaniards or Portuguese, which showed that the former slave-dealing visitants were not over-scrupulous even with their agents, but occasionally made free with them to fill up their numbers.

They speak the Brass, or Orù dialect: the men wore daggers and knives in their girdles. The women were much tattoed, particularly over the face.

Yaws, an affection of the skin, as also leprosy, prevailed to a great extent, such as were afflicted with these diseases were besmeared with red clay. Dr. McWilliam vaccinated four persons at this village, and several others at another large one, and explained the object to the chief of the place, who was much pleased that a white man should take so much trouble.

Emmery, the Chief of Akassa, visited the ships; he was dressed in a drummer's coat, a plain black hat, rather the worse for wear, and a loose fold of blue cotton handkerchief round his lower extremities. He seemed a quiet, well-disposed man.

While at the mouth of the Nun, a son and a nephew

of 'Boy,' King of Brass Town, arrived on a visit to Captain Trotter, bringing with them three sheep as a "dash," or present. 'Boy,' sent as an excuse for not coming in person to see the Captain, that he was engaged making Ju-ju, but hoped the vessels would remain three days, as he was anxious to have a "palaver."

The young *princes* said, that when the Brass people heard of the arrival of the English ships, they were all very much pleased, and danced for joy.

King Boy is a very important personage here. The sovereignty of both sides of the Nun is in his hands, and to use the words of his embassy, "King Boy pass all black man;" which, after all, was an empty boast, as he is tributary to Obi Ossaî, of Abòh.

They said, King Boy, and his brother, King Will, had a good deal of palm-oil at Brass, "and they would rather sell the oil than slaves." The King of Brass has eighteen large canoes, with forty men in each, which he sends to Abòh for palm-oil, yams, fowls, bullocks, goats, sheep, rice and black beans, in exchange for which, he gives rum, cowries, cloths, shirts, hats, caps, knives, looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, hooks and lines, scissors, muskets, powder and ball, tumblers, wine-glasses, &c.

They would not allow that human sacrifices take place at Brass, saying that bullocks and goats were used instead, at their great Ju-ju feasts; and these, with a profusion of fowls and yams, are liberally bestowed to all present on such occasions.

King William's son is called 'Jack Fire.' He is a

pilot for Ibu, and showed as a proof of his high origin, the royal mark, which consists of three deep scarifications at the external angle of each eye. King Boy has one hundred and forty wives, and King William forty-five.

Jack Fire said at this season, with the water high and current strong, he would be nine days going to Abòh in one of their large canoes; but about Christmas, when the water was low, he could accomplish it in five days.

The Reverend T. Müller, the estimable chaplain to the Expedition, having composed a prayer suitable to the service on which we were now employed, it was by order of the senior officer offered up on board the respective vessels, and being so characteristic of the pious author, and his earnest desires for its fulfilment, we gladly subjoin it:—

"O Lord! our God the Father of all men, and in Jesus Christ our Father, we, thy unworthy servants, come before Thee this morning with a new song in our mouths, with prayer and thanksgiving to our God. Hitherto Thou hast not only helpen us; but, as a father pitieth his children, and as a shepherd feedeth and guideth his flock, so hast Thou been unto us, a merciful Father, a good Shepherd, and an ever-present help in the time of need. Thy goodness and mercy have been new toward us every morning; blessed and praised by Thy holy name! We feel assured, Almighty Father, that it were in vain to

hope for success in our present undertaking, without asking counsel of the Lord, to whom belongeth wisdom and understanding; and who, though He is sovereign in His testimonials, and giveth more than either we have desired or deserved, will still be inquired of for these things. As we are now entering upon the field of our labours, which we trust is a labour of love and faith, be pleased, we beseech Thee, O Lord! to bless and direct both us, Thy servants, and the work which Thou hast put in our hands, and afford us Thy protection!

"Our help is in Thee, O God! who hast made heaven and earth. Undertake Thou for us, and bless Thou the work of our hands. Give success to our endeavours to introduce civilization and Christianity into this benighted country. Thou hast promised, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God;' make us, we pray Thee, instrumental in fulfilling this Thy promise.

"We trust, O God! that the Expedition in which we are engaged is the work of Thy own hands, and the thought of Thy own heart; we would, therefore, plead Thy protection and guidance with a peculiar confidence. Thou hast promised to be with Thy people, even unto the ends of the world, and to be a refuge to all who put their trust in Thee.

"Behold, we Thy unworthy servants do put our whole trust and confidence in Thy mercy. Be pleased, we beseech Thee, O Lord! to defend us with Thy Almighty

Power as with a shield. Thou hast promised, in Thy word—'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee: for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy one of Israel, thy Saviour.' Be pleased, we beseech Thee, O Lord! to fulfil all Thy gracious promises in us for the time to come, as Thou hast done hitherto. Continue, in mercy toward us, to be our hiding-place and covert from the tempest, and a comfortable shade in a dry and weary land; for if Thou art with us, who can be against us? Let no evil befal us, nor any plague come nigh our ships. Preserve our going out and our coming in, from henceforth and for evermore. And since it is Thy holy will, that all Thy children should go through much tribulation into the Kingdom of Heaven, be pleased, O Lord! to bless and sanctify all our afflictions to Thy honour and glory. Give grace, wisdom, and judgment to thy servant, in whose hands Thou hast put the chief command and direction of this Expedition, and to those who are associated with him, and appointed to negociate conventions with the African Chiefs. Grant, we beseech Thee, that each and all of us may be a light and a salt to the people of this benighted country, that they may see our good works, and praise Thee our Heavenly Father. O! Thou that rulest over all the kingdoms of the Heathen, and turnest the hearts

of Kings whithersoever Thou wilt, dispose and turn Thou the hearts of the Chiefs of this country, that they may love the things which make for them, temporal and eternal peace; that the time may be hastened, when they may, according to Thy promises, beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and nations no longer lift up the sword against nations, neither harm men any more! And Thou, O Lord! our God! who hast promised to hear the petitions of them who ask in Thy Son's name, we humbly beseech Thee mercifully to incline Thine ear to us who have now made our prayers and supplications to Thee, and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to Thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of Thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord! Amen."

August 20.—Having completed all our preparations, we got under way at 6 A.M. followed by the 'Soudan.' The 'Albert' having commenced the ascent of the river on the preceding evening.

We had intended to begin our "track survey" immediately on starting, but the operations were suspended by heavy showers of rain, that even gave us some difficulty in ascertaining the entrance of Louis Creek, which we consequently approached with too much caution; and not having sufficient speed to contend against the unexpected strength and eddies of the ebb-tide, we fell across the channel, which was not much broader than the length of the vessel, from forty to fifty

yards, having mangrove trees on either side, with soundings from eleven to twenty-three feet.

After vainly striving to get the vessel's head up the stream, we were obliged to come out of the creek to make another start "*reculer pour mieux sauter.*" In this we were successful, and we proceeded up the river followed by the 'Soudan'.

Having passed through the narrow channel named Louis Creek,* it expands to a wide sheet of water, with many islets and several broad and more promising channels on the right and left, than the one we had just come through. They are, however, all nearly dry at low water; while Louis Creek, with the "young" flood, had depth enough for our little 'Amelia,' drawing ten feet.

Nothing at this part was to be seen indicative of anything like *terra-firma.* The visible boundaries of the river in all these branches being an endless confusion of the arching roots of the mangrove, *Rhyzophora*, the only occupant of this swamp. At low water, their roots are covered by slimy and stinking mud, with decayed vegetable matter; to which may, not unreasonably, be attributed the deadly character of the locality.

* So named after Lander's pilot, who strenuously asserted this to be the best channel to find the "big water," in opposition to the advice of his treacherous master, King Boy, who, wished us to take another branch, in the hope that the vessels might be lost, when he proposed to enrich himself by the spoil. For his faithful service to us, poor Louis was afterwards put to death by King Boy.

This is, indeed, the only bewildering part of the river; as, when once entered, there is no difficulty in following the right channel. The stream will always shew the course; since by keeping the vessel's head to the current, or to the ebb in a tide-way, it must lead to the main trunk of the river; so that no channel pursued upwards, can lead in a wrong direction, and though perhaps it may not have the deepest water, it will generally be found to bisect the Delta.

The main branch of the river, which we call the Nun, lies directly opposite to Louis Creek, and is the one declared to be the best by that poor fellow. There is a long shoal stretching nearly across, from the point on the left bank, making it necessary at first to keep the opposite shore close on-board.

Having passed this, we arrived at where the 'Albert' had anchored last night; and after proceeding a little farther, Lieutenant Levinge, Commander of H.M.S. 'Buzzard'—who piloted the 'Albert' over the bar, and had accompanied the vessels thus far up the river—now took his departure; his boat's crew saluting each of the vessels as they passed upwards with three hearty cheers, which were responded to with that buoyancy of hopeful feeling we all entertained.

Lieutenant Levinge had in his charge the letters for England, all doubtless full of bright prospects never to be realized; and, alas! in too many cases, the last outpourings of affection kind friends were ever to receive.

The Nun branch, soon after leaving Louis Creek, was

scarcely one hundred and twenty yards wide, but on advancing, we passed several divergents, and the width and depth increased proportionably, as well as the strength of the current, a necessary consequence of the volume of water being confined to one channel instead of spreading over and inundating the mangrove swamps.

The banks began gradually to assume the appearance of firmer land; at first, without any vestiges of the operations of man; but soon, some small cultivated patches were seen; bearing plantains, a few fishing-stakes and a small fishing-hut, &c.

A native, in a very tiny canoe, made his appearance for a moment, and then hid himself in one of the numerous little creeks which intersect these swamps.

The universal stillness of the scene was very imposing; unbroken as it was by any sound, save the dashing of our own paddle-wheels, and the clear musical cry of the leadsman, which aided the effect, falling on the ear in measured cadence. The large and umbrageous trees, with their festoons of *Orchideæ* and purple and white *Convolvuli* hanging from the branches, formed a combination of forest scenery, so striking, novel, and interesting, as enabled us to forget that the much-talked-of Delta of the Niger had been fairly entered upon. Several monkeys were noticed hopping about with their wonted agility, which, as far as we could make out, seemed to be the *Mona* or *Cercopithecus mona*: the little gambollers sprung from tree to tree as if intent on trying rate of speed with us. The

graceful swallow, *Hirundo nigrita*, was frequently recognized in its varied flight, by the black general plumage, and the little band of white across the tail.

During the day, the water and air were tested with carbonate of lead, nitrate of silver, muriate of gold, &c., but no trace of any of the looked-for sulphuretted hydrogen could be discovered.

The reeds gave place more frequently to patches of cultivation, in the midst of which were small granaries, raised from the ground on poles, to secure the stored productions of the soil from the overflowing of the river, as well as other more cunning depredators, as the proprietor lives in a distant village. At 1 P.M. we had reached Sunday Island—twenty miles from the sea. This is also the highest point to which the sea-tide reaches in the dry season, clearly indicated by the gradual but rapid disappearance of the mangrove trees, with their sombre foliage and numerous arching roots, and the *Pandanus;* though during the period of the floods the effect ceases very much lower down, accounting for the admission of a varied vegetation among trees which delight in the brackish water. It is indeed the transition state, and shews the onward march of the Delta by the reciprocation of cause and effect in the deposition of soil and vegetation.

The first palm-trees cannot be exceeded in the grace of their immense arching leaves, springing as it were from a stool, having but a very short stem. The natives use the long and tough branches for the same purposes

to which the bamboo is applied, and they extract the best palm-wine from their base. Ferns, the *Ficus*, *Mimosæ*, and various shrubs and bushes of small growth increased as we advanced above Sunday Island: and the ranks, which previously were swampy, become somewhat firm; and the eye—wearied by the melancholy and monotonous hue of the mangrove—is delighted to witness the rapidly increasing vegetation, which soon assumes all the dignity of the tropical forest.



A few fishing-stakes and some small patches of plantains give the earliest indications of approach to the habitations of man. The first villages are composed of a very few mud huts, of a square or oblong form, with thatched roofs and gable ends.

During the afternoon, some of the 'Albert's' officers landed at a little village on the right bank, called Paraboli, where they met an Ibu pilot, whom they had seen at the mouth of the Nun. Captain Trotter wished

Paraboli, where they met an Ibu pilot, whom they had seen at the mouth of the Nun. Captain Trotter wished to have engaged his services, but he set such an extravagant price on them, that the offer was declined. At this place, a rude resemblance of an alligator, cut in wood, was noticed in a Ju-ju house, and, in a small enclosure attached to the building, a carved figure of a child. The natives were soon divested of their fears, though, at first, the female portion especially, evinced considerable alarm, and ran off into the bush as the vessels approached; they had dark circles tattoed over several parts of the body, mostly on the breast.

At 7 P.M. we anchored in the middle of the stream, having made a distance of about thirty-three miles from the *embouchure*.

The river had here attained a breadth of more than three hundred and fifty yards, with a depth in the middle of thirty feet. The shores, sometimes of sand with a loamy coloured clay, rising two or three feet in firm land above the level of the water, shewed that the Nun was here confined within a decided channel. A populous village was abreast of us on the right bank; the huts very rude in construction. The inhabitants at first made their appearance armed with muskets and cutlasses, and though they soon laid these aside and shewed signs of gratification at our visit, they could not be prevailed on to communicate with us.

Darkness soon enshrouded all objects, and was the more intense from the close vicinity of the lofty forests by which we were surrounded. This, our first night in

the Niger, was peculiarly suited to invite to meditation those who, while they reflected on the serious difficulties we should have to encounter, had a firm reliance on the power and goodness of Him whose fostering care is traceable in the wildest solitude.

The darkness was indeed perfect;—save the twinkling of the stars in the narrow portion of the heavens enclosed by the dark line of wood, and the more fitful flashes of the fire-fly:—while the solemnity of silence was scarcely broken, though innumerable insects kept up their not unpleasing chorus throughout the night. Most of us had been accustomed to the music which is poured forth in the tropics after sunset, but those to whom it was a novelty, were astonished at the volume of tone in this evening concert of Nature's own harmony.

20th.—3 A.M.	Th.	79°	Wet bulb	Mason's	Hygr.	75°
9 A.M.	„	81°	„	„	„	76°
3 P.M.	„	84°	„	„	„	76°
9 P.M.	„	80°	„	„	„	75°

August 21, 6 A.M.—A fine morning; weighed, and soon afterwards entered a divergent on the left bank, to examine it, by order of Captain Trotter. This is the channel which carries off a large part of the waters of the Niger to the *embouchure* called the Rio Bento, or St. John's River, the next to the eastward of the Rio Nun. We went down a little way till we had opened a fine reach, about one mile in length and one hundred and twenty yards wide. The water was deep—fifteen to twenty feet—close to each bank.

Some canoes came towards us;—the largest had

several muskets. The headman, after a great deal of hesitation, ventured on board and was offered some coffee; as we had adopted the practice of giving a cup of that fine tonic at daylight to all hands. He, however, refused it, never having seen any beverage looking so black and uninviting, and intimated that a glass of rum would be better understood. A small present was given him in lieu of rum, and he went away very much pleased.

We returned to the main stream, and passed a village on the right bank, called "Kiambli," containing only nine huts. The inhabitants there told the interpreter that, two days' passage up the creek opposite to them, there were two very populous towns, "Ichebby" and "Nebby," and that a white man lived at one of them, probably some unfortunate Albino, of which, cases now and then are met with in Africa. The Ju-ju at this place was merely two portions of plantain-stem, crossed. The population was about fifty. The chief sent off two fowls and some plantains as a "dash."

On coming up with the 'Albert,' Captain Trotter hailed Commander W. Allen to lead;—the 'Soudan' having been sent to examine the Benin branch—erroneously so named—where they took the opportunity of ascertaining the longitude.

The Nun branch at this point, had attained a breadth of eight hundred yards. The so-called Benin branch is five hundred yards wide, the banks partially cultivated with sugar-cane, plantains, &c.

Dr. Stanger here obtained some clay, containing Mica,

and stated at once his conviction that granite would be found further up, which proved to be the case.

The villages, as we proceeded, became more frequent, larger and with more cultivation, while the oil-palm was everywhere seen; the cocoa-nut tree was only near the villages, a proof they are not indigenous, according to Dr. Vogel.

Soon after mid-day, passed a pretty village on the left bank, called Ingyama, where a few natives were seen peeping round the corners of their huts, in fright and astonishment at the "Devil-ship." The scenery was fine on all sides, everywhere might be seen the magnificent *Bombax*, or cotton tree; here and there a tree covered with a sort of scarlet flower, while the graceful palm, and clumps not unlike bamboo, aided the effect.

Captain Trotter made the signal for the 'Wilberforce' to examine a *converging* branch on the right bank, which we pursued in the expectation of its speedily leading us again into the main stream; but soon its winding reaches evidently led us far away to the westward. We had, therefore, discovered a new and important channel, which—believing himself ordered to explore—Commander W. Allen decided on following, in the full conviction that, as we were *stemming* the *current*, it must lead us sooner or later, into the main river, according to what has been previously said at page 177. This branch, called by the natives O'guborìh, trending in a N.W. direction, was about four hundred yards wide, and twenty-five feet deep. A heavy squall obliged us to anchor for a short

time. We named the island, round which we were navigating, after H.M.S.V. 'Wilberforce.' The scenery was even more beautiful than that we had left, though the vegetation was very similar. The trees grow close to the water, and are covered with parasites, in great variety, hanging in graceful festoons, some of them bearing flowers and fruit. The cultivated parts shewed bananas, sugar-cane, cassada, maize, cocoa-palms, and yams.

In the afternoon, a village was passed on the right bank —Otua—containing about five hundred inhabitants. The huts appeared to be made entirely of clay. The people could be seen moving out of their huts with a celerity quite unusual for negroes. They were evidently suspicious of our intentions towards them; and with the exception of one "headman,"—who came on board with fear and trembling, yet pretending all the time to be much at his ease—none of the many vociferous invitations repeated by our "Brass" interpreter were attended to. We noticed a species of *Elephantiasis* in two individuals who came the nearest to the ship.

The men in the canoes were fine robust fellows. They, as well as most of the natives who visited us this day, had a line or mark down the forehead, reaching to the bridge of the nose.

The hair-dressers of the village were, apparently, allowed more latitude for their exuberant taste than in politer circles. The wool of some was twisted into a number of small bunches, which certainly did not much

improve their looks. Others had their crowns curiously cut in a variety of compartments, like a chess-board, or a French *parterre*, or made up into numerous little tails, ornamented with beads, standing erect as if to emulate the "fretful porcupine." The natives of this branch speak the Orù, or Brass language.

The shore on entering the O'guborìh branch was at first very low; it afterwards became more elevated, but was not seen higher than about four feet above the present level of the river. Some marks on the stems of trees made it appear that the floods are sometimes even much higher than at the period of our visit.

21*st.*—3 A.M.	Th.	$78\frac{1}{2}^0$	Wet	bulb	Mason's	Hygr.	74^0
9 A.M.	,,	$82\frac{1}{2}^0$		,,	,,	,,	76^0
3 P.M.	,,	83^0		,,	,,	,,	76^0
9 P.M.	,,	79^0		,,	,,	,,	76^0

CHAPTER IX.

Town of Amazuma—Ogulba—"Dash," or present from the natives—The "smoke-canoe" creates much alarm—Botany—Little Ibu, or O'korotombi—Stirling Island—Indyama—Brass and Bonny canoes—Benìn branch—Town of Ányàh—Orissa and his wives—Ladies offended—African hair-dressers—Methods of catching fish — Granby, our interpreter recognizes an old friend—Native fishing-houses—Fishermen's Ju-jus, or idols—Ipàtani—Utok—Visit of the Chief—Beautiful birds—Arrival at Abòh—Prince Ejeh—Odd costume of a person of rank—Obi Ossaï, the Ezzeh or King, visits the 'Wilberforce'—Recognizes a former acquaintance—The royal dress—Native music—Harsh tones of the opé and eriki-riki—Obi's favourite wife and daughter—Prince Ejeh makes an addition to his wardrobe—The princes afraid of a sand-toy—The 'Albert' and 'Soudan' arrive—Honesty of a native woman—Amusing scenes—The pride of the Bimmenah people—Refuse to take the cowries because they were thrown on the ground—The 'Soudan' examines a creek opposite Abòh.

August 22.—Early this morning passed Amazuma—a large town on the left bank—containing about three hundred huts, it was most beautifully situated, about six feet above the water, and looked cheerful and clean. The natives were very suspicious, and notwithstanding

our waiting some time, and holding out inducements in the shape of coloured handkerchiefs, &c., not one would venture off. They had little enclosures near the banks, staked off, as if for catching fish. Soon afterwards we came to another village on the right bank, Ogulba; here some of the natives paddled alongside with a few bananas, plantains, and a wretchedly lean goat; but nothing could induce them to leave their canoes, being contented with a distant admiration of all that was shown; but though probably secretly wishing for possession, we only obtained a few bananas for some needles.

In every little creek as we proceeded, the plantain and banana trees were seen growing most luxuriantly—in some places so thickly, as to prevent the proper development of the fruit—not having apparently much care bestowed on their cultivation. At 10 A.M. we passed another little village on the left bank, with which we had no communication; the natives merely taking one glimpse at the "smoke-canoe," or "devil-ship" and then starting off into the bush.

As we advanced further into this interesting country, how often did the words of Isaiah present themselves, as so applicable to these people! "Go ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down; *whose lands the rivers have spoiled.*"

A little way above the town Ogulba, the branch we were in, received two others; or rather, we came to a bifurcation, where the streams united to form the

O'guboriħ branch. As one went in a north-west and the other a north-east direction, we hardly knew which to choose; on hailing a canoe which still followed us, they said the north-east channel was the shorter, which we therefore took, not wishing to continue the separation from our companions.

But we first examined the north-west branch a little distance, and found it equally fine as that to the north-east. The depth was from twenty-eight to forty-two feet nearly all the way across; at "the meeting of the waters," the eddies had worked a hole of sixty feet. The point of separation was extremely beautiful, with large trees, covered by innumerable parasitical plants.

A boat was sent for some flowers overhanging the bank. One was probably a new *Dalbergia*, the other a creeper, which had been eagerly watched ever since leaving Sunday Island; it winds up the trees to the very top, and then drops, thread-like, flowering stalks, six feet long, covered at the ends with yellow flowers, frequently hanging down to the ground. It appears to be a new genus, closely allied to the *Mucuna*: Dr. Vogel called this plant, preliminarily, *Mucuna Allenii.* Both plants were unfortunately without fruit.

In the afternoon we arrived opposite a very pretty and apparently clean village, called Ibadi—*anglicè*, "Small Box."

Several canoes came off during our short stay, and brought abundance of bananas and plantains, which were disposed of for needles and bottles. The headman

also paid us a visit, receiving a "dash" or present of several small articles, which much gratified him; in return for these he gave a goat and some fruit. The bank on which Ibadi is situate, appeared to be raised artificially. The houses were well-built, of clay, and in good order. The inhabitants a fine athletic race. We here, for the first time, noticed the Ibu fashion among the women of wearing enormous anklets.



At this village a flag was flying, in which a fish and two birds were figured, and three bars united; it had also a black border.

We could not, however, ascertain the meaning of the symbols. Fish probably forms one of the chief articles of food, and therefore may well rank as a national emblem.

At all the villages on the banks were seen nets, immersed fish traps, and various contrivances for capturing the finny tribe.

We were enticed by the extreme beauty of the flowers of the *Mucuna*, overhanging the river, to go close to a bank, where the water was so deep, that Dr. Vogel gathered some interesting specimens from the paddle-box: here we had five fathoms alongside. This was called Mucuna Point, from the profusion of those flowers which adorned it.

At 5.40 P.M. we rejoined the main, Nun branch, which we left on Saturday. Abreast of the junction were several villages, nearly joined; the largest of these is called Sabo-Krugga. The huts were somewhat different in their arrangement from those lower down, as they seemed to be built in such a manner as to enclose a small court. On enquiry, we found that the other vessels had not passed this place. A note was, therefore, left with the Chief to apprize Captain Trotter of our progress.

The river was here perhaps twelve hundred yards wide, contracting afterwards to seven hundred and eighty, but still a magnificent stream, the depth averaging thirty feet, nearly from bank to bank. The current was about two knots generally, but more in the middle of the river, and sometimes under the points hardly perceptible; it was not however always safe to take advantage of this, as the eddies caused shoals.

A gorgeous sunset shed a rich glow over the sombre and varied vegetation of the dense forest.

We anchored at 6.35 P.M. a little way above this cluster

of villages, hoping that the 'Albert' and 'Soudan' would soon make their appearance.

22*nd*.—3 A.M.	Th.	80°	Wet bulb	Mason's	Hygr.		76°
9 A.M.	„	81°	„	„	„		77°
3 P.M.	„	80°	„	„	„		75°
9 P.M.	„	79°	„	„	„		76°

23*rd*.—At 6.25 P.M. weighed and proceeded. The river was here divided by an island, having a channel of three hundred and fifty yards on one side of it, and on the other, one hundred and fifty. In the narrowest, we had nearly three fathoms of water. The banks entirely changed in appearance:—the mixture of sand and clay, altered to clay with fragments of red quartz, so coloured by oxide of iron. A prettily-situated village, called Mòmoti-miàma, was surrounded on all sides by the most magnificent and umbrageous trees.

At 9.45 P.M. we passed the village called by Lander, Little Ibu, but properly, O'korotombi; where the natives having endeavoured to prevent the passage of the former Expedition, it was destroyed after a little fighting. Some of the inhabitants came on board, bringing plantains and fowls. They were evidently distrustful of our intentions, which might perhaps arise from the recollection of the unsatisfactory relations they had with our predecessors. They certainly quitted the vessel with more gratification than they evinced on coming on board.

In the middle of the day it rained heavily; but

under good awnings, it caused little inconvenience, and tended to cool the air. During our passage hitherto the air and water have been tested regularly night and morning, but we could discover none of the much-talked-of sulphuretted hydrogen. A slight trace of carbonic acid was detected in the air. We observed for latitude near a place called on Allen's chart, Ofitulo; no trace of habitation was seen; but as there is good vegetable soil, mixed with clay and sand, the natives of some other part come here to cultivate the land with coco, yams and capsicums. A *Sorghum*, apparently indigenous, ten or twelve feet high, was almost impenetrable. The river was here found, by measurement with the micrometer telescope, to be five hundred and twenty-seven yards wide, and it was from thirty to forty feet deep.

4.30. P.M.—Passed the end of the beautifully wooded Stirling Island. An hour afterwards, we reached Indiàma, a village on the right bank, the largest we had yet seen; judging from the number of natives assembled. One canoe, with a few men, came alongside, having with them some bananas, yams, and a goat. The fruit was disposed of very reasonably; but a musket was asked for the latter. They were evidently pleased to see us, although at first a little apprehensive in their manner.

After leaving Indiàma, we met some large canoes,

deeply laden with puncheons of palm-oil, on their way to Bonny.



The crews numbered from twenty to thirty-four; in the bow a small iron gun was lashed, and ready for immediate use, as also the muskets, of which there were several. All this precaution was said to be necessary, as sometimes an attempt is made by the inhabitants of some of the villages to plunder them on the route, by way of exacting toll or port dues.

Most of these canoes belonged to King Boy; and the headmen in each wished to visit us. In one was a slave, who, aware perhaps that with us he would find liberty, was very anxious to come on board. He could not, however, prevail on his master to make such a gratuitous sacrifice. They declared that no steamers had passed. The forest scenery was here remarkably beau-

tiful. Opposite this, on the left shore, there is a sandy beach. We anchored at dusk. The river was three hundred and sixty yards wide, and thirty feet deep, with a current of two and a quarter knots.

3 A.M.	Th. 78° wet bulb,	Mason's Hygr.			75°
9 A.M.	„ 80°	„	„	„	76°
3 P.M.	„ 75°	„	„	„	73°
9 P.M.	„ 75°	„	„	„	73°½

24*th.*—A showery morning. Weighed at 5 A.M., and proceeded up the river, wondering why we did not see our companions; but in this unhealthy part, Commander W. Allen did not think it advisable to loiter to let them overtake us.

11 A.M.—A canoe came alongside, from which Mr. Wakeham, purser, purchased some yams, fish, &c. The people appeared to be delighted with the novelty, and curiosity was strongly written on their countenances.

About twelve, we reached the Benìn branch, and somewhat above it, on the right bank, the town of Anyah, or "Onià̀h." The excitement on shore was very great, and many canoes pushed off, the largest of which, with twenty "pullaboys," or negro paddlers, contained Orissa, the chief, and his four favourite wives. The latter were pleasing in feature, and very *prettily* tattoed over the person. They only remained alongside, however, a very short time, retreating into some rather diminutive canoes, in which they moved towards the shore, talking very rapidly and vehemently, as if piqued at the want of gallantry shewn in not inviting them on

board; and this was the more probable, as they took with them from the larger canoe, the yams, fruit and and fowls, which had, perhaps, been brought off as a "dash" or present, in return for the admiration they expected to receive.

The men here, as well as most of those we have seen of the true Ibu race, were stout and well made, of middling stature. The mark down the forehead is not general, appearing, as well as the various other tattoed lines, to depend more on individual caprice, than to be any national distinction. This applies also to the mode of arranging the woolly ornaments of their heads; in which taste assumed a variety of fantastic forms, as we had full opportunity of observing in the specimens—about two hundred and fifty—collected alongside. While some had them in full expansion, like a large wig, others went to the opposite extreme of fashion, and exhibited their closely-shaven crowns, glittering in the mid-day vertical sun like polished ebony. The major part, however, showed a happy medium. One of our visitors at Oniàh, a native of Ibu, and a relative of King Obi, begged for a passage with us. He remembered Commander W. Allen when on the former Expedition with Lander, and also Brown, the coloured clerk. He said, that after our departure, his royal relative was so anxious that the white men should come back, that he had prayed for it during three moons. One of the many curious coincidences that have occurred, was almost immediately on the arrival of this man on the quarter-deck; he and

our interpreter, the "Marquis of Granby," after inquiring names, and a few moments' scrutiny, fell into each other's arms; a mutual and simultaneous recognition having taken place.

It appeared that Ukasa had the care of Granby when a little slave boy, while his master, Ukasa's brother, was ill, and had formed a parental regard for him. It was very pleasing to witness such genuine proofs of feeling in hearts supposed to be savage. But kind Nature is a better tutor than civilization, on occasions of deep emotion. Granby, having in his youth frequently attempted to run away, his master, to secure himself from loss, sold him to the white slave-dealers; he was re-captured, and during his service of several years on board a man-of-war, &c., had sufficient time to see some of the advantages of civilization, and to appreciate the exertions which are made by Englishmen in behalf of his brethren in affliction. He related all these things to his former friend, on whom they seemed to produce a very beneficial effect, as he frequently expressed his gratitude and wish to remain with us. On the way to Abòh, he readily answered all our questions relating to his country.

Tested the water and air with the various reagents provided, but could only discover a slight trace of carbonic acid in the air on exposure to barytic water. We procured some articles from a canoe; one was a native whip, the handle neatly worked, and furnished with several hard dry slips of goatskin.

The dress of the natives consisted merely of the usual body-cloth, passed round the loins so as to require the least quantity of material; but several were either too poor or too lazy to use even that scanty covering; so that an Ibu's toilet—his hair excepted—is not very elaborate. Here and there, a striped shirt of English pattern was seen; as also a few individuals with fantastic lines drawn with great care in yellow clay over their otherwise unadorned persons. They send down much of their palm-oil, trona, ivory, and slaves to the coast, by way of the Benìn branch. The Slave-trade forms one of their most important sources of wealth, which some of them admitted without hesitation; and they asked if we were inclined to purchase. On being told our mission was to abolish the traffic they were at first rather serious, but tried to laugh it off.

The point of divergence of the Benìn and Nun branches appeared to be increasing *upwards;* for, a sand-bank near it, was now almost joined, and had become covered with grass seen above water, the island being overflowed. We had great difficulty in getting through the narrowed channel, having five fathoms on one side and three feet on the other. In November, 1832, there was not any appearance of vegetation on the island.

The promontory, from the vessel, looked like an entire swamp; however, on landing, a great deal of dry land was seen, covered with plants, among which *Sorghum, Cassia, Mimosaides, Æschynomene,* and a *Malvacea,*

were gathered. It is an admirable spot for cultivation containing about twenty-five square miles of land, almost free from forest; but the climate must be most pestilential, as, after the floods, a great deal of stagnant water always remains among the luxuriant vegetation, which is the case throughout the Delta:—though on the margin of the river the banks appear firm, beyond them there are no doubt large tracts, which if not, properly speaking, morasses, are intersected by creeks in all directions, in which the water is left by the falling river. But of course, this state obtains more in the neighbourhood of the mangrove portion of the Delta, where the sluggish water has not time to be carried off by evaporation in the dry season, and thus remains a permanent cause of fever.

We went a little way down the fine branch, called by Lander the Benìn, though without any reason than that, by an endless perplexity of creeks, the town of Benìn may be reached; or, with more probability, because a large portion of the water of the Niger is discharged by it into the Bight of Benìn by various mouths, as the Rio "Warree," or Formoso, the Escardos, Forcados, &c. We found the channel about six hundred and ninety-six yards wide, very much broken up by islands; the current not so strong as in the Nun branch, about one knot and a half, and the water not so regularly deep; though at one place, where we *botanised* from the paddle-box, it had five fathoms close to the bank.

The country at the lower part of this branch is called, by the Brass people, Senama; by the Aku, Takiri; and by those of Ibu, Iwenni. A canoe can reach the salt water in six days' hard pulling; but there is no passage to the higher parts of the Niger except by the main branch. The principal traffic consists in slaves, palm-oil, and trona. They do not profess to have much ivory. The Ibu people do not venture beyond this place, which is the lowest in Obi's dominion; and the natives of Oniàh do not go lower down than Senama, to which place the Benìn traders meet them by a creek called Egòa. The principal occupation of the Brass people is in conveying palm-oil, as the Slave-trade is "spoiled" for them. It was not thought prudent to descend this branch more than five or six miles: it doubtless has a communication with that fine one joining the Oguborih River at the "meeting of the waters." We returned, and continued our voyage up the main channel, which is of magnificent dimensions. The reach being about seven miles long, a mile and a half wide where the branches separate, but contracting at the upper end to half a mile.

The fishing-houses which we have seen along the banks, are rude but curious buildings. The natives generally select places where there is a little eddy, and here a look-out hut is built on four high posts. The net is a large circular one, suspended to a long pole, supported on two uprights. From time to time,

small pieces of bruised yam, intestines of animals or fish, &c., are thrown over the net, and if the fishermen see the prey moving about, it is slowly lifted out of the water. They propitiate their gods by Fetiches emblematical of the employment, small carved fishes being hung in the huts, or fastened to the lines. Some few sorts of fish, one of which much resembled mullet, were brought off, cooked in native fashion, which is done in the following way: After withdrawing the inside, the head and tail are secured together with a bit of grass, then having been dipped in palm-oil and hot pepper, they are dried and smoked over a wood fire, which gives a not unpleasant flavour.

Sometimes the smaller ones are strung on a switch and prepared in the above way; palm-oil is certainly an improvement, the fish being mostly very dry.

It would be impossible to give a description of scenery which offered each mile we advanced some new and interesting feature, and a wildness of character which accorded not inaptly with the human denizens in its neighbourhood. The smooth surface of the water was in several places covered with tiny canoes, the possessors of which could not command sufficient courage to fulfil their earnest longings to traffic, yet they followed us at a little distance, paddling very rapidly, as if in mimic race with the object of their inquisitive fears. The females were equally expert as the men in using their little vessels, and some of *them* even ventured alongside to receive a few handkerchiefs and needles; the latter were

apparently much prized, why we could not guess, as they had no clothes on which to use them. Perhaps they were to be converted into fish-hooks.

Our interpreter, who was not a little proud to be the mouthpiece for the "white men," issued his oral invitations on all sides, and also took advantage in presenting the "dashes," to say a few complimentary words to his countrywomen, on whom the "Marquis of Granby's" gallantry was not entirely lost, as we thought we could discover a sort of blush mantling their dark features. All those we noticed were happy-looking creatures.

We anchored at 6 P.M., and soon afterwards thought we heard the report of a large gun, supposed to be from the 'Albert.' Our twelve-pounder was therefore fired in answer. At Oniàh however we afterwards saw the flashes of several muskets, and it is probable that the louder report might have been from thence.

3 A.M.	Ther.	80°	Wet bulb,	Mason's	Hygr.	77°
9 A.M.	,,	79°	,,	,,	,,	76°
3 P.M.	,,	81°	,,	,,	,,	76°
9 P.M.	,,	77°	,,	,,	,,	75°

Wednesday, August 25.—Weighed at 5 A.M. Squally weather, with some rain. We struck on a shoal called Abkono, lying nearly in the middle of the reach. It is very much in the way; the 'Alburkah' struck on the same spot on the former Expedition. It is possible that it may be a rock, as it is very "steep to," having great depth of water close to it. A village called Ipàtani is on the left bank. The inhabitants are

of the Ethio tribe, who having been driven away from their former homes by intestine wars, settled here. They do not seem to have made a good choice of a location, as it appears swampy; but the numerous plantations and granaries bear favourable testimony to their industry. The grass on the banks here is not *Sorghum*, but some other species, which, however, we had not time to examine. A fig-tree grew close to the water-side bearing very small fruit.

At noon we passed a large village called Utok, inhabited by a mixture of the Ibu and Egaboh tribes. They are both celebrated for the cultivation of the yam, which is found in perfection in these districts. The chief of Utok came on board decked in a drummer's jacket, given him by Lander, and bearing in his hand his staff of office, an iron rod, ornamented with brass rings and terminating at the top in a sort of crescent.

The trees, with their richly diversified foliage, do not lose their interest, and at times we could observe some of the little playful inhabitants, of the *Simia*, or monkey tribe, but not near enough to ascertain the species. Frequently we noticed the *Ispida bicincta*, or double-collared king-fisher, with its distinctly marked black and white plumage, flitting from one small branch to another near to the water-side, and sometimes its scarcer, but more gaily attired rival, the *Halcyon cyanotis*, or little rufous-necked king-hunter, in its rich rufous-purple, violet and blue. Late in the evening the 'Wilberforce' anchored off the principal creek leading

to Ibu, or Abòh. Tested the water and air carefully during the day and at night, but could not discover any appreciable gases so much anticipated at this locality.

3 A.M.	Ther.	80°	Wet bulb	Mason's	Hygr.	77°5
9 A.M.	„	79°	„	„	„	76°
3 P.M.	„	77°2	„	„	„	75°
9 P.M.	„	77°	„	„	„	75°

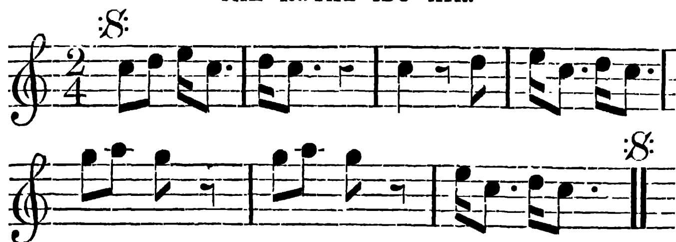
August 26.—As soon as day dawned, Ukasa was sent to King Obi to announce our arrival, with an invitation to come and see us. But before he could reach the town, a large canoe was seen steering down the creek, in which was a deputation from the King to ascertain if our purposes were peaceable, and whether any of his friends of the former Expedition were on board. On coming alongside there was a mutual recognition between the Prince Ejeh and Commander William Allen, who remembered the former when he visited the 'Alburkah.' He was then a very nice interesting boy, particularly attentive to Allen, and carried his obsequiousness so far as even to insist on washing his feet. He had now become a remarkably fine young man, nearly six feet in height, well made, and with a pleasing expression of countenance. His voice was unusally strong and sonorous. Altogether his appearance was very commanding, innately so, for he owed but little to the "foreign aid of ornament," being dressed merely in a yellow-striped cotton shirt of European make, and for a waist-cloth, a blue handkerchief. As to his princely retinue, little could be expected from them,

when the royal wardrobe had furnished so scanty a display.

He remained during the morning prayers, which were read by Mr. Schön, our respected missionary, and behaved with great decorum. After having executed his father's commands and partaken of a breakfast, to which he did ample justice, he returned to the town to report favourably of us, judging by the satisfaction he evinced, especially on the receipt of a few presents. We were now anxiously looking for the King kimself, but nearly three hours elapsed before the royal *cortège* made its appearance, consisting of a large canoe, in which was hoisted a white flag, with a rude attempt at the Union Jack in the corner. The King was embarked in this, attended by several other canoes of various sizes; that belonging to our friend the Prince, carried an English flag given him by the former visitors. They came slowly down the creek, as if in doubt whether to trust the sacred person of the Chief of Ibu within the power of a *canoe* so formidable as the 'Wilberforce' must have appeared; though Obi was somewhat familiarized to the sight by the visit of the steamers under Lander and Laird. The King's canoe was very large, hewn in one piece out of the Cotton-tree. It was broad and capacious at the middle and after-part especially; but tapered to a sharp bow. On a flat piece extending from the stern stood the steersman, holding vertically a long paddle, and with a bamboo he occasionally admonished with a tap, not very lightly,

on the head of the "pulla boys" or slaves, about forty in number, graduated in size from each extreme of the frail bark; the stoutest men being near the centre, where stood King Obi, under a large crimson umbrella, accompanied by Mr. Roscher, the mineralogist, who had gone with the Prince on his return to his father. His Majesty was dressed in a curious manner; a scarlet coat, with a few rude trimmings of bad lace, a pair of wide trowsers of white cotton, and a black velvet conical-shaped cap, decorated with a gold tassel; his sooty uncovered feet peeping out rather strangely beneath the white, where the assistance of his almost namesake, Mr. *Hoby*, would have been useful. During his approach, and while alongside, some musicians in the retinue performed the royal air on the opé, a sort of wind instrument formed

THE ROYAL IBU AIR.



by hollowing out a young elephant's tusk: an oblong hole is bored at the upper third, into which the performer blows strongly, and by compressing the fingers over the lower aperture, several notes are produced of anything but a pleasing character; the tone resembles more the discordant jar of a clarionet in the

hands of a novice. On reaching the deck, Obi greeted Commander W. Allen as an old friend. His features are pleasing and his countenance expressive of kindness; with an air of dignity and self-possession like one used to command. He cannot, to judge from appearance, be much under fifty.



Obi brought with him two favourite wives and a daughter, one of the former probably was not more than thirteen, and was younger than the daughter. They were simply attired with a scanty waist-cloth; but two dresses of flaming red silk, and another of cotton print, supplied to the Expedition by their compassionate sisters of our own blest land, were presented to them, and very soon put on, but did not appear to add at all to their comfort, as they stood trembling between fear and joy. Commander W. Allen explained that he had returned to

his country as a friend, and had brought other ships to do good to him and all the black people. That the Commander of the Expedition was on his way, and would soon be in sight. In the meantime, he would endeavour to satisfy Obi's curiosity by adverting to some of the objects of the Mission; but said he could not enter into details or conclude anything with him until the arrival of the other Commissioners. He was much astonished at being told, that the vessels could find their way, although they had nobody on board who had been in the river before. We showed him round the ship, and he appeared very much pleased, especially when he fired a detonating tube fixed on the long gun. His numerous attendants made such a clatter, that we were obliged to keep them to their canoes, except a few who were indispensable to his dignity.

In the evening the 'Albert' made her number, and on our signalizing that Obi was on board, Captain Trotter hoisted the royal standard. The 'Soudan' arrived soon after, having passed on the other side of the island opposite to Ibu Creek. Thus far, therefore, we had arrived in safety, and after our little separation the meeting was gratifying. As it was so near sunset when the 'Albert' anchored, the King could not be persuaded to go on board of her, pleading fatigue, but he promised to visit Captain Trotter the next morning.

After remaining some time with us, the Ibu sovereign put off for the shore, much in the same formal state as when he came, his musicians making "plenty palaver," with the opés and eriki-rikis, or wooden

tom-toms, which they belaboured with little sticks. Prince Ejeh had also been an anxious visitor; he had made an addition to his wardrobe in the shape of an old hat, and white waistcoat with tarnished uniform buttons, which, fastened up tightly to the throat, served to throw out more strongly the waving folds of the unwashed striped shirt. He had with him an uncle, brother to Obi, as also one of his sons. They all became much enamoured of the junior officers' compartment, where they partook of dinner quite in the English fashion—using knife and silver fork tolerably well, having first looked to see how the white men handled them. On being shown a little toy which moved by the agency of sand placed inside, their wonder amounted to fear, starting back at each movement of the tiny figure; they could not be prevailed on to touch it even when clearly explained that it was only a piece of human ingenuity.

Having seen our sable friends safely on shore, we must now go back to where the 'Albert' and 'Soudan' were left, at the entrance of the Agoborih branch, which the 'Wilberforce' was ordered to examine. It appears that Captain Trotter did not intend that we should do more than "look into it," and, therefore, on anchoring in the evening, expected us soon to rejoin him; but as Sunday passed without seeing us, not having heard our evening gun, and fearing we might

have got into difficulties, he returned, on Monday morning, to the entrance of the branch, went up it several miles, and fired some guns to apprize us of his position; but as we were by that time a day and a half in advance up the river, we were out of hearing. Therefore, receiving no answer, Captain Trotter rightly concluded that we had pursued that channel to its junction with, or more properly, to its separation from the main stream. He re-entered the Nun branch, and continued his voyage.

In the meantime the 'Soudan,' on Monday evening, had got up as far as Sabo-Krugga, where Commander William Allen's note was found, intimating that he had passed that place on the previous evening. On returning with this intelligence to Captain Trotter, the vessel unfortunately grounded, and remained fast until the 'Albert' came to her assistance.

Tuesday 24.—They were occupied till nearly eight o'clock, in getting the 'Soudan' off the shoal. They then proceeded, the 'Albert' towing the tender. A divergent branch was examined on the left, leading to Brass Town. It was one hundred and seventy-five yards wide; a large canoe, belonging to King Boy, was seen there, going from Ibu to Brass.

Several villages were passed on either bank. When abreast of one of them, some handkerchiefs, as a little present, were thrown overboard for the natives to pick up, in order to avoid detention by sending them on shore. A trait of honesty was here exhibited, not much in

accordance with the general character of the natives of this part. On seeing the handkerchiefs in the water, a canoe pushed off from the village, with a woman apparently of some consequence, who picking them up, asked if they had been lost by accident, or intended for them. She was still further rewarded for her disinterestedness.

At another village, a similar method was taken to save time, but here an amusing scene took place. Several canoes were immediately launched off after the handkerchiefs, some men also dashed into the river, and there was an animated and novel scramble on the water, between the swimmers and those in the canoes; the latter seemed to have the advantage, but lost it by their eagerness; for the canoes were capsized, and thus all had fair play. More prizes were thrown overboard, enticing more canoes and swimmers; till the surface of the river presented a scene of confusion and, one would apprehend, of some danger, but there was no time to await the result, which doubtless terminated in the capture of all the articles, without the loss of any of the half-amphibious scramblers.

At a village called Binnemah, the current swept the 'Albert' on a bank. The natives at first came out armed, but soon perceiving her predicament, very quickly laid their weapons aside, and cheerfully lent assistance to shove the vessel off. For this service, Captain Trotter threw them some cowries; which, however, most unac-

countably, they trod underfoot in the mire. It was difficult to imagine what could be the motive for this, though it appeared to be something like pride; they were possibly indignant at presents being offered in such a way! since they were most eager to receive the cowries when offered by the hand, and there was soon as active a scramble for them, though not half so diverting, as had been before witnessed on the water. The village Binnemah contained about thirty-five huts, and with several others, belongs to the chief of a district, called Hippotiamah; but whether independent, or owing allegiance to the more powerful Chiefs, Obi, or Boy, was not ascertained. After again grounding for a short time, the 'Albert' anchored for the night, with the 'Soudan' and the 'Amelia' tender.

August 25.—The vessels proceeded at daylight; found the Nun branch very much wider, being then above some large divergents. The number of villages increased, and they were evidently larger and more populous: at some, the inhabitants appeared very desirous of visiting the white strangers, and the chiefs came off with small presents of yams, plantains, fowls, &c.: at others again, they exhibited every symptom of alarm, and took refuge in the bush as the steam-boat passed. At several places, Dr. M'William landed and administered the blessing of the "healing art" to some suffering natives. Nothing particular occurred till they arrived in the evening at the anchorage of the 'Wilber-

force,' off Abòh Creek. On Captain Trotter coming in sight of the latter vessel, he complimented Commander W. Allen, by telegraph, on his chart of the river made on the former voyage, by which they had been much aided in their navigation.

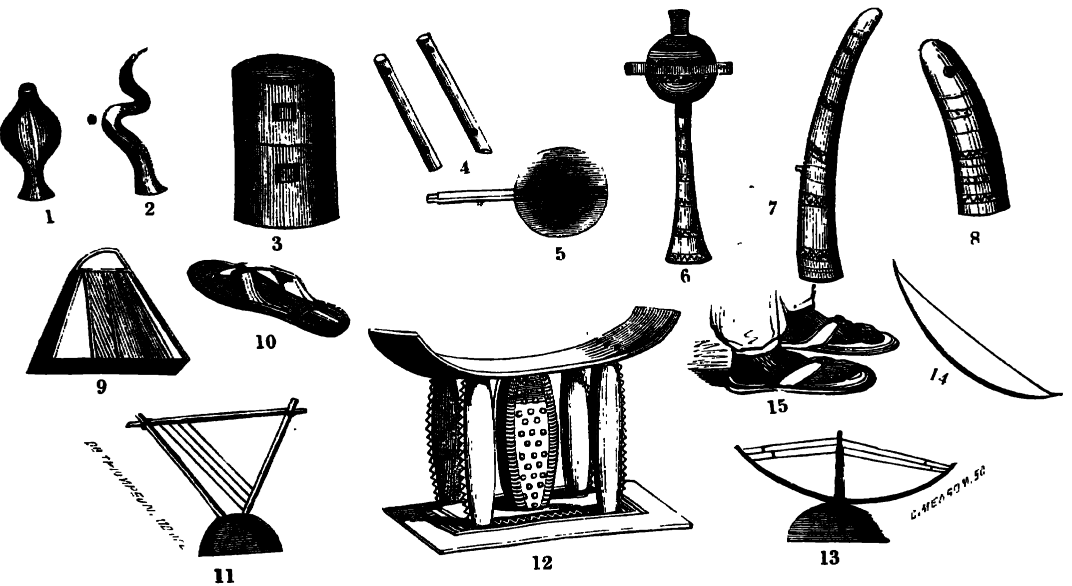
The 'Soudan' on arriving at this point, before anchoring, explored the channel on the eastern side of a large island, called Afgab, abreast of Abòh Creek, and then rejoined the little squadron at this, the first place where the Commissioners would have the opportunity of exercising their diplomatic functions.

3 A.M.	Ther.	80°	wet bulb	Mason's	Hygr.	76°½
9 A.M.	„	79°	„	„	„	75°
3 P.M.	„	76°½	„	„	„	73°½
9 P.M.	„	76°	„	„	„	74°

CHAPTER X.

Obi Osaï's numerous sons—Visit to the 'Albert'—Large canoes—Officers of state—Conference with the Commissioners—Object of the Expedition explained to Obi Osaï—Questions relative to the slave-trade—Duty or per centage to be allowed the King—Obi Osaï promises to enter into a treaty for abolishing the slave-trade—Obi, on his return to shore, makes "Fetiche"—Rejoicings in the town of Abòh—Obi's wives—His "arrìsi," or idols—The war-god—Religious ritual—Title and right of succession to the sovereignty of Abòh—Royal prerogatives—Headmen, or elders, of the several towns and villages—Adultery, its punishment—Murder—The priests or Ju-ju men—Their cunning—Large war-canoes—Mode of levying people in time of war—King Boy's faithless wife, a daughter of Obi—Ibu women celebrated for their personal charms—Mode of fattening wives—Demoralising effects of the slave-trade—Abòh slaves often sent by Benìn branch to sea-coast—Number of inhabitants—Obi's powers.

Friday, August 27.—Early in the morning, Ali Here, who, when a boy, had served Mr. Lander as a pilot, came on board with about a dozen young sons of King Obi. They seemed to be all very nearly of the same age, in a perfect state of nudity, and bore un-



DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTRUMENTS.

1. Edeeyah flute.
2. Eggarah flute.
3. Eriki-riki.
4. Bimbia flutes.
5. Abòh guitar.
6. Abòh flute.
7 & 8. Opés or flutes.
9. Edeeyah rattle.
10. Eggarah sandals.
11. Kru harp.
12. Stool very common in W. Africa.
13. Abòh harp.
14. Bimbia harp.

equivocal proofs of having undergone a certain operation of Jewish origin.

Some of the officers landed on the island of Afgab, abreast of the anchorage, in order to ascertain by observations its astronomical position. It was found to be covered with long grass, and reeds twenty feet high, but so flooded, that it was difficult to clear a space for setting up the instruments. The soil is sandy, and produces great quantities of yams, which are chiefly carried away by the Brass and Bonny traders. The Benìn people cannot come to Ibu, as there is perpetual war between them and the tribes at Ejòh, which the traders must pass to reach Ibu. Some beautiful *Epiphytes* were seen, and several shells, *Achatina*, *Bulimus*, *Helix*, were collected. Some yellow weaver-birds, with black heads, were shot; also a guana of considerable size; but the flooded state of the island prevented any particular investigation of its natural history.

Obi Osaï having sent a message to acquaint Captain Trotter, Senior Officer and Commissioner, that he would come off to the 'Albert' to have an interview with him relative to the subjects which Obi was told constituted the object of the Expedition, there were early and noisy indications of the approach of our royal visitor—opés, eriki-rikis, and a chorus of voices—and very soon the state-canoe appeared, urged at a rapid rate down the creek, by forty "pullaboys," of various sizes, nearly all naked, excepting a few, who had a piece of cloth of the

smallest possible dimensions, round their loins. This *apology* for clothing, was nevertheless quite enough for the nature of the climate, as was evident on their polished-looking skins, from which the perspiration exuded abundantly. They all appeared to be in good humour, each perhaps anticipating a "dash," or at any rate an opportunity of indulging that curiosity so inherent in human nature. Occasionally, their loud chattering was rather too much for the royal ear, and of this they were reminded by the steersman, who did not hesitate to bestow thumps which would have been dangerous to less obdurate skulls. After paddling round the 'Albert' with great ceremony—the "pullaboys," lifting their paddles high at every long and measured stroke—he came on board, and was received on the quarter-deck by the Commissioners.

Obi Osaï was attended by his judge, or "King's-mouth," Amorama, and several of the *magnates of the land*, together with some of his brothers and children. He was dressed in a serjeant-major's coat, given him by Lander, and a loose pair of scarlet trowsers presented to him on the same occasion A conical black velvet cap was stuck on his head in a slanting manner. He brought a present of two small buffaloes and two hundred and fifty yams; a very acceptable accompaniment.

On being shown to the after-part of the quarter-deck, where seats were provided for himself and the Commissioners, he sat down to collect his scattered ideas,

which appeared to be somewhat bewildered; and after a few complimentory remarks from Captain Trotter and the other Commissioners, the conference was opened.

Captain Trotter, Senior Commissioner, explained to Obi Osaï, that Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain had sent him and the three other gentlemen composing the Commission, to endeavour to enter into treaties with African Chiefs for the abolition of the trade in human beings, which Her Majesty and all the British nation held to be an injustice to their fellow-creatures, and repugnant to the laws of God; that the vessels which he saw were not trading ships, but belonging to our Queen, and were sent, at great expense, expressly to convey the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty, for the purpose of carrying out Her benevolent intentions, for the benefit of Africa. Captain Trotter therefore requested the King to give a patient hearing to what the Commissioners had to say to him on the subject.

Obi expressed himself through his interpreter, or "mouth," much gratified at our visit; that he understood what was said, and would pay attention.

The Commissioners then explained that the principal object in inviting him to a conference was, to point out the injurious effects to himself and to his people of the practice of selling their slaves, thus depriving themselves of their services for ever, for a trifling sum; whereas, if these slaves were kept at home, and employed in the cultivation of the land, in collecting palm-oil, or other

productions of the country for commerce, they would prove a permanent source of revenue. Obi replied, that he was very willing to do away with the slave-trade, if a better traffic could be substituted. With a view to elicit information, as well as more fully to explain our object, a number of queries were put to the King, some of which are given below, in order to illustrate the nature of our conference. It will easily be imagined that there was great difficulty in shaping the questions, every one of which had to be put in a variety of forms to suit his capacity, on a subject which we were introducing in such a new phase to him and to his subjects, who may be supposed to have been at least as ignorant of the cruelty of the practice as were our own more enlightened countrymen within a century from the time of our propounding to him this new doctrine, which had dawned so recently, and with so much difficulty among us.

The pertinent remarks of this untutored native Chief will thus also shew the reader more clearly, how fully he understood the nature of the treaties we were proposing for his acceptance.

Commissioners.—Does Obi sell slaves for his own dominions?

Obi.—No; they come from countries far away.

Commissioners.—Does Obi make war to procure slaves?

Obi.—When other chiefs quarrel with me and make war, I take all I can as slaves.

Commissioners.—What articles of trade are best suited to your people, or what would you like to be brought to your country?

Obi.—Cowries, cloth, muskets, powder, handkerchiefs, coral beads, hats—anything from the white man's country will please.

Commissioners.—You are the King of this country, as our Queen is the sovereign of Great Britain; but she does not wish to trade with you; she only desires that her subjects may trade fairly with yours. Would they buy salt?

Obi.—Yes.

Commissioners.—The Queen of England's subjects would be glad to trade for raw cotton, indigo, ivory, gums, camwood. Now have your people these things to offer in return for English trade-goods?

Obi.—Yes.

Commisssioners.—Englishmen will bring everything to trade but rum or spirits, which are injurious. If you induce your subjects to cultivate the ground, you will all become rich; but if you sell slaves, the land will not be cultivated, and you will become poorer by the traffic. If you do all these things which we advise you for your own benefit, our Queen will grant you, for your own profit and revenue, one out of every twenty articles sold by British subjects in the Abòh territory; so that the more you persuade your people to exchange native produce for British goods, the richer you will become. You will then have a regular profit, enforced by treaty,

instead of trusting to a "dash" or present, which depends on the willingness of the traders.

Obi.—I will agree to discontinue the slave-trade, but I expect the English to bring goods for traffic.

Commissioners.—The Queen's subjects cannot come here to trade, unless they are certain of a proper supply of your produce.

Obi.—I have plenty of palm-oil.

Commissioners.—Mr. Schön, a missionary, will explain to you in the Ibu language what the Queen wishes; and if you do not understand, it shall be repeated.

Mr. Schön began to read the address drawn up for the purpose of shewing the different tribes what the views of the Expedition were; but Obi soon appeared to be tired of a palaver which lasted so much longer than those to which he was accustomed. He manifested some impatience, and at last said:—"I have made you a promise to drop this slave-trade, and do not wish to hear anything more about it."

Commissioners.—Our Queen will be much pleased if you do, and you will receive the presents which she sent for you. When people in the white man's country sign a treaty or agreement, they always abide by it. The Queen cannot come to speak to you, Obi Osaï, but she sends us to make the treaty for her.

Obi.—I can only engage my word for my own country.

Commissioners.—You cannot sell your slaves if you

wish, for our Queen has many war-ships at the mouth of the river, and Spaniards are afraid to come and buy there.

Obi.—I understand.

He seemed to be highly amused on our describing the difficulties the slave-dealers have to encounter in the prosecution of the trade; and on one occasion, he laughed immoderately when told that our cruizers often captured slave-ships, with the cargo on board. We suspected, however, that much of his amusement arose from his knowing that slaves were shipped off at parts of the coast little thought of by us. The abundance of Brazilian rum in Abòh, shewed that they often traded with nations who have avowedly no other object.

The interpreter, Simon Jonas, was a practical illustration of the advantages which the Commissioners wished the King to assist in procuring for his country. He was, therefore, told to state how he came to be with us; he said:—"I was once taken from my country and parents, and sold as a slave; but an English man-of-war captured the ship I was sent in, and, after having been well treated, and taught how to write and read at Sierra Leone, I am as free as a white man."

Commissioners.—Wicked white men come and buy slaves; not to eat them as your people believe, but to make them work harder than they can bear, by flogging and ill-using them. The English Queen wishes to prevent such cruelty.

Obi.—I believe everything you have said, and I once more consent to give up the slave-trade.

Some of the presents were now brought in, which Obi looked at with evident pleasure. His anxiety to examine them completed his inattention to the remainder of the palaver.

Commissioners.—These are not all the presents that will be given to you. We wish to know if you are willing to stop boats carrying slaves through the waters of your dominions?

Obi.—Yes, very willing; except those I do not see.

Commissioners.—Also to prevent slaves being carried over your land?

Obi.—Certainly; but the English must furnish me and my people with arms, as my doing so will involve me in war with my neighbours.

Obi then retired for a short time to consult with his headmen.

Commissioners—(*on his return*).—Have you power to make an agreement with the Commissioners in the name of all your subjects?

Obi.—I am the King. What I say is law. Are there two Kings in England? There is only one here.

Commissioners.—Understanding you have sovereign power, can you seize slaves on the river?

Obi.—Yes.

Commissioners.—You must set them free.

Obi.—Yes, (*snapping his fingers several times*).

Commissioners.—The boats must be destroyed.

Obi.—I will break the canoe, but kill no one.

Commissioners.—Suppose a man-of-war takes a canoe, and it is proved to be a slaver, the officer's word must be taken by the King. You, Obi, or some one for you, can be present to see justice done.

Obi.—I understand.

Commissioners.—Any new men coming henceforth to Abòh are not to be made slaves.

Obi.—Very good.

Commissioners.—If any King, or other person, sends down slaves, Obi must not buy them.

Obi.—I will not go to market to sell slaves.

Commissioners.—Any white men that are enslaved are to be made free.

The Commissioners here alluded to the case of the Landers; and asked Obi if he did not remember the circumstance of their being detained some time as slaves. Obi, turning round to his sons and headmen, appealed to them, and then denied all knowledge of Lander's detention.

Commissioners.—British people who settle in Abòh must be treated as friends, in the same way as Obi's subjects would be if they were in England.

Obi.—What you say to me I will hold fast, and perform.

Commissioners.—People may come here, and follow their own religion without annoyance? Our countrymen will be happy to teach our religion, without which blessing we should not be so prosperous, as a nation, as we now are.

Obi.—Yes, let them come; we shall be glad to hear them.

Commissioners.—British people may trade with your people; but whenever it may be in Abòh, one twentieth part of the goods sold is to be given to the King. Are you pleased with this?

Obi.—Yes—"makka."—It is good, (*snapping his fingers*).

Commissioners.—Is there any road from Abòh to Benìn?

Obi.—Yes.

Commissioners.—They must all be open to the English.

Obi.—Yes.

Commissioners.—All the roads in England are open alike to all foreigners.

Obi.—In this way of trade I am agreeable.

Commissioners.—Will Obi let the English build, cultivate, buy and sell, without annoyance?

Obi.—Certainly.

Commissioners.—If your people do wrong to them, will you punish them?

Obi—They shall be judged, and if guilty, punished.

Commissioners.—When the English do wrong, Obi must send word to an English officer, who will come and hold a palaver. You must not punish white people.

Obi.—I assent to this. (*He now became restless and impatient.*)

Commissioners.—If your people contract debts with the English, they must be made to pay them.

Obi.—They shall be punished if they do not.

Commissioners.—The Queen may send an agent?

Obi.—If any Englishman comes to reside, I will shew him the best place to build a house, and render him every assistance.

Commissioners.—Would you like to send one of your sons to England?

Obi.—I sent two persons* in the 'Quorra,' but

* Mr. M'Gregor Laird, December 18th, 1841, in reply to an official communication from the Foreign Office on this subject, states, "that on the 10th of July, 1833, being then at anchor in the River Niger, about sixty miles above the town of Eboe, I received on board four native boys from the late Mr. Richard Lander, (who had borrowed them from King Obi to assist the crew of the row-boat in which he was ascending the river), for a passage to Eboe. On my arrival at Eboe on the 10th of August, two of the boys expressed a great desire to remain on board; and on my visiting King Obi, I asked for them. They were readily given, and accompanied me to Fernando Po; one of them I left there, the other I brought to this country, taught him to read, and kept him for two years or more as my servant. His health not agreeing with the climate, I paid his passage to Fernando Po in the 'Golden Spring,' Captain Irving. As he proved useful on board that vessel, he was kept, and made one or two voyages as steward; he then entered the service of Mr. Oldfield, and I believe is now with that gentleman at Sierra Leone, and is known by the name of 'Snowball.' Mr. Oldfield, who resided some years at Fernando Po, informed me that the other lad was comfortably settled, I forget under what name." He, however, sent a fine lad with Captain Trotter to learn English. He was a native of Bornù, and had been sold when a boy by the Nufi traders to the King of Iddah, and by him to Obi, who again sold him to the Nufi people. He was then

never saw them afterwards. How can I let my son go, if those already sent have never been heard of?

Commissioners.—That shall be inquired into. Obi must also give every facility for forwarding letters, &c., down the river, so that the English officer who receives them may give a receipt, and also a reward for sending them.

Obi.—Very good, (*snapping his fingers*).

Commissioners.—Have you any opportunity of sending to Bonny?

Obi.—I have some misunderstanding with the people intermediate between Abòh and Bonny; but I can do it through the Brass people.

Commissioners.—Will you agree to supply men-of-war with firewood, provisions, &c. &c., at a fair and reasonable price.

Obi.—Yes, certainly.

The Commissioners requested Mr. Schön, the respected missionary, to state to King Obi, in a concise manner, the difference between the Christian religion and heathenism, together with some description of the settlement at Sierra Leone.

Mr. Schön.—There is but one God.

taken by the Filatahs in one of their predatory excursions, and, by the chances of war, came once more into the hands of Obi.

This little history of the life of one so young serves to shew the extraordinary vicissitudes and uncertainty to which the Africans are liable; the prospect of which being constantly before their eyes, must tend very much to loosen all ties of honour or kindred.

Obi.—I always understood there were two.

Mr. Schön recapitulated the Decalogue and the leading truths of the Christian faith, and then asked Obi if this was not a good religion, to which he replied, with a snap of the fingers, "Yes, very good," (makka.)

Commissioners.—Do they sacrifice human beings in the Ibu country?

Obi (*rather embarrassed*).—They do not sacrifice human beings; only animals—sheep, goats, fowls, &c.

Commissioners.—When a woman has twins, does she kill them?

Obi.—I never heard of it, (*hesitatingly*).

Commissioners.—Would Obi like to have a Christian to teach him?

Obi.—Yes, certainly.

Commissioners.—Will the King make a law that no human sacrifices shall be made, no murders committed, and that the treaty be properly observed?

Obi.—Where I have power, the law shall be put into execution.

Commissioners.—If the Queen makes a treaty with Obi, will his successors, on his death, abide by the same?

Obi.—They will do as I command. I want this palaver to be settled. I am tired of so much talking, and wish to go on shore.

Thus the greatest care was taken to make Obi, his elder sons, and his headmen, clearly comprehend the nature of the Treaty, and of the obligations we wished him

to enter into. Every article was explained and repeated, *usque ad nauseam*, as he appeared to say by the frequent declarations, "that he understood, and did not like so much talking." He agreed so readily to everything, that various suspicions were entertained;—first, that he did not understand our propositions; next, his eager compliance was accounted for by his impatience to receive the presents which had been promised; lastly, we thought it not improbable that the slave-dealers on the coast had advised him to accede to all our wishes, and afterwards to evade them. However, he made many pertinent remarks, and there were some circumstances attending the conference which bore strong presumption of his sincerity—at least for the time. He acknowledged that he had carried on the slave-trade hitherto to a great extent, but that he did not know it to be wrong; now, however, having heard the truth from us, he would no longer continue a practice which he saw was unjust. At the same time, he said, it had already ceased in a great measure, from the difficulty he found in selling the slaves, which we explained by telling him that the Queen's ships kept up a strict blockade all along the coast, in order to prevent the approach of slave-vessels. He seemed very much pleased at this, but said repeatedly, if we wished him to substitute lawful trade in the produce of the country, we must send ships to take it away. We, however, told him that ships could not undertake so long and so difficult a voyage, unless with the certainty of receiving

articles in exchange for the goods they would bring, and that the increase of trade would depend upon the exertions of himself and of his people.

In agreeing to put an immediate stop to the slave-trade, and to make a law to that effect, he said that some of his people were at that time absent, and therefore could not know the Treaty. That his son, in fact, was then engaged in purchasing slaves at a town up the river. He asked if, in such a case, he was to seize their boats and punish them for carrying on the Slave Trade, without knowing it was wrong?

The Commissioners allowed him till the end of the present moon to make all his subjects acquainted with the law. This Obi said was sufficient time. He could not then be prevailed on to give any information as to the price of the slaves, or the manner in which the traffic was carried on; saying impatiently, "The Slave Palaver is all over now, and I do not wish to hear anything more of it."

As Obi laid so much stress on the necessity of our sending plenty of ships to enable him to substitute legitimate trade for that which we had explained to be unjust; it is probable and reasonable he should consider his adherence to the Treaty as contingent on our fulfilment of its stipulations. He will, doubtless, look on our inability, to be an infraction and a sufficient release from the performance of his part, and may, therefore, long ere this, have returned, with renewed energy, to his former practices, calculating on the deadly nature

of the climate, to prevent our returning to call him to an account.

Some proof of his sincerity, however, may be argued from his desire to keep the interpreter, who, of course, residing at Abòh, would have been cognizant of any breach of the Treaty. He and his almost naked retinue, remained on board some little time longer, looking at everything in the vessel with astonishment. They were with difficulty made to understand that the pictures in the cabins were not Ju-jus, or idols for worship, which they at first believed them to be. None of his suite went away much poorer for this visit.

Soon after Obi's return to shore, he caused the headmen to make a public declaration of the Treaty into which he was about to enter; no doubt it was a very important occasion. Fires were lighted in several parts of the town, and sacrifices of sheep and goats offered up to the Fetiches. The tom-toms and other musical instruments were in play all night. Captain Trotter, the senior officer, had very judiciously allowed the interpreter, Simon Jonas, who was a liberated slave from the Ibu country, to spend the night on shore, and from him we learned that the proclamation was attended with much apparent rejoicing. Probably the inhabitants generally felt greater joy at this than the headmen, to whom a larger portion of wealth is derived from the slave warfares and subsequent traffic. It was also rumoured, but without any good foundation, that Obi publicly forbade the continuance of human sacrifices, and the

other cruel superstitions to which the Commissioners had drawn his serious attention. This, if true, negatived all his assertions that such practices did not exist.

Some of the officers accompanied Obi to his palace after the conference. They went up the creek—till it had so contracted in width, that there was hardly passage for the canoes, on account of the overhanging trees—and then paddled to the extremity of a smaller creek, where the canoe grounded. The King was carefully mounted on the shoulders of one of his slaves, and carried to his house. The same method was proposed to our officers; who, however, finding from the difficulty the men had to get through the mud with their burden, that there was some chance of being pitched head-foremost into it, preferred the minor inconvenience of getting up to their knees by using their own locomotives.

On arriving at the palace, the King invited them to sit on his *throne;* a mud couch, covered with matting. Obi gave them palm-wine, and began to relate the result of his visit to the white man's ship; of all the wonderful things he had seen, and the still stranger things they had told him; of its being wrong to buy and sell slaves, &c. He had a numerous and willing audience in his wives, who crowded round the door of their chamber, expressing their astonishment at all they heard by loud exclamations and various gestures. They were of different ages, some being young and good-looking, but all fat enough. At another door were about twenty of a more mature age, which the interpreter said were

superannuated. Their simple dress was a piece of cotton cloth round their waists; but they were abundantly adorned with anklets of ivory, weighing several pounds; armlets of the same, or of brass, and some of leather, with cowries affixed to them. Others had amulets round their necks—small calabashes fastened to a leather cord, ornamented with cowries and pieces of brass. Our officers were, of course, objects of curious scrutiny, and every remark was accompanied by a loud laugh; whether complimentary or otherwise, was left to the imagination of the subjects of it.

In the verandah opposite the throne, were two idols, which the interpreter called "Ju-ju for war palaver." One was a rude representation of a human being, carved in wood, with a conical cap, huge eyes, beads round the neck, and several other articles, as a small ivory tusk, the handle of a knife, &c. Prior to going to war, every person touches this Ju-ju. Those apparently sacred objects were allowed to be handled and examined without opposition.

Obi retired, after having done the honours of hospitality to his visitors, who also went out to look at the town. Guided by the occasional sound of a tom-tom and an opé, they looked into a house, where they found Obi "making Ju-ju," and calling upon his deity for succour and advice, previously to proclaiming to his people the Treaty he was making with the white men. He had in his hand a naked sword, with which he touched the end of a large bâton, surrounded with iron rings, which he reversed after every touch—something like the opera-

tion of magnetizing. At the same time, two of his attendants performed certain mystical motions in the air with large fans, made of palm-leaves, in order probably to keep away the Evil One. The intrusion of our officers, however, having the effect of suspending the incantation, they withdrew.

We ascertained that the name Ibu belongs to a large tract of country lying on both sides of the Niger, but is more extensive to the eastward of it, and containing possibly many independent tribes, of which Obi rules over the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the river, and it appears that his power does not extend much beyond the reach of his canoes. The real name of his chief town, we find, is Abòh, and not Ibu or Eboe, as Lander called it.

Obi is called the Ezzeh Obi Osaï. The first being his title, answering to king or chief; the second his patronymic, and the last his cognomen. His sovereignty is acknowledged for about fifty-five miles along both sides of the river; Oniàh being his lowest village on the right bank, near the Benìn branch; Owiah Okbe, the highest. On the left bank, from Ipàtanih upwards to Akra-atàn, near the Onechà River, and all the villages included between these. Notwithstanding all his proud declaration of absolute power, it is doubtful whether it can be considered as really more than a preponderating influence, of variable nature.

He had asserted his authority to be despotic and hereditary; but we were informed by our friend, Ukasa, that

the sovereign is elected by a council of sixty elders, or chiefs of large villages. Preference is indeed generally given to the King's son, but an adult is chosen, and great attention is paid to the qualifications of the candidate. The King has the power of life and death only by consent of the Council. When the Ezzeh makes himself obnoxious to the elders, he is not deposed, but secretly poisoned by them; and in the choice of a successor, in such a case, the humility of the candidate towards *them* is of great weight. "If the King is humble towards the elders, they take great care of him." Although much of this is at total variance with what Obi affirmed respecting his prerogative, the information given by Ukasa agreed with that obtained from Simon Jonas.

It is probable, that in the case of the present monarch, Obi's force of character, his superior judgment, as well as his mild and equitable administration of justice, may invest him with the additional influence of public opinion. All appear to look on him with great reverence, and it is expected that his eldest son will probably succeed him.

His Majesty frequently declared this to be the case, and that his word would be law even after his death. He said emphatically, "Are there two Kings to give law in your country? here there is but one." He certainly was corroborated in all this by his headmen, to whom he appealed, but, in his presence they could not do otherwise, even if they were disposed to let foreigners

into the true state of the constitution of the country, which would have been very much at variance with the practice of negroes, who are not generally very communicative on such matters.

At Abòh there are ten headmen, or elders, of various grades, at the other towns and principal villages there is but one, who is responsible to the Ezzeh and the Council for the proper regulation of his district. Each town has also a judge, who decides all matters of dispute, pronounces on the nature and amount of punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, subject, however, to the confirmation of the chief. In extreme cases, the affair is referred to the Council at Abòh.

Among the greatest crimes is adultery with the King's wives, which is punished with death to both parties. In one case that was mentioned, the unfortunate witnesses were included in the sentence. Among the headmen and other influential people, a fine of one or more slaves is exacted for this offence. When murder is committed, the *lex talionis* is put in force with the same means that were used by the murderer. Stealing an ox or a goat is punished with death by hanging. Minor thefts, by flogging or incarceration.

Some of the most important personages are the priests, or Ju-ju men. We could not ascertain how they are elected, or what are the qualifications for the priesthood. But where the whole religion is but a tissue of palpable imposture, the principal requisites must be great cunning and boldness. In fact, the Ju-ju men are

easily distinguished, by their keen insiduous look and overbearing manner, too plainly indicative of the influence they exert over the blindly superstitious votaries of Fetichism.

Although the Ezzeh has only two large canoes "in commission," he is said to possess, in all, fifteen of different "rates," having from twenty to fifty paddlers, with a small cannon in the bow of each. The first-rate war-canoes can carry twenty warriors. In the event of hostilities with any other tribe, or when the King proposes to make a "great war," he sends to all the chiefs who are tributary to him, and they furnish armed canoes according to their means or the size of the villages under their authority—some four, some only one canoe each. The ten elders at Abòh have each from two to six war-canoes. On an extraordinary occasion, it is said the King can muster about three hundred, many of them armed with muskets and cannon in the bows, these last especially, are not however very formidable, as they are lashed to the bow, rendering the aim uncertain. A chief is sent from Abòh to command the expedition. Thus the villages appear to be held as military fiefs; but we had no opportunity of noting further the resemblance to the feudal system.

In times of peace, these canoes are employed in the less exciting, and at present, less profitable occupation of trading between the markets* on the upper and lower

* It is probable that the names of the towns where these are held, signify in their respective languages "market-place." As in Ibu,

confines of his kingdom. They go to the Eggarah market directly after the new moon; the journey there and back takes about five days; after resting a day, they go to the station below. At the upper one, they receive the produce of the interior, brought there by the Eggarah people, the chief town of which was formerly erroneously called Attàh; this produce they exchange at the lower market with the traders from Brass and Bonny.

This is the general method of intercourse with the merchants, who never traverse a foreign state to visit a distant market. The practice, we believe, obtains in most parts of Central Africa, which may account for the difficulty and, apparently, unjust detention European travellers have met with in endeavouring to cross many kingdoms; they were in fact transgressing the laws of nations. A regular exception appears to be in the Kàfilahs, or troops of merchants with slaves, who are said to make very long journeys. Another apparent exemption came under our notice, for we saw many canoes from Brass lying in the Abòh Creek. But we understood that King Boy, of Brass Town, whose real name is Ammaï-kunno, pays something like tribute for this privilege. In order also to secure still further the

the upper and lower market-town is named Oniàh, and in the Eggarah dominions they are called Kiri, or I'Kiri, which Oldfield spells Iccory. Thus there appears to be a confusion of names, which this supposition would clear up and account for Lander calling the place where he was captured, which is common to both the nations, the Kiree market.

favour of the Ibu sovereign, he some years ago married one of his daughters, Adzeh, whose name, Lander—in celebrating her beauty—altered to the more euphonious name Adizetta. She has proved faithless to the "sea-king" Amaï-kunno, and has recently married her uncle, a brother of Obi, by whom she has had two children.

The Ibu women are famed for their charms, and in order to heighten them, when a man takes a wife, his first care is to immure her in a hut, without suffering her to take exercise,* until she attains the acmé of beauty, according to the Ibu taste, namely, such an amount of obesity as very materially to interfere with the faculty of locomotion.

Whether from ignorance or unwillingness we know not, but certainly the natives were much averse to affording any information relating to the countries adjacent to Abòh, nor could they say anything of the towns or villages which one may suppose to be situate a little distance from the banks. They admitted that they often went into the bush to fight, a sufficient proof that there must be other towns than those immediately on the river. There is too much reason to believe that Abòh, like every other part of Western Africa, where the trade in human flesh is one of importance, is often in a state of predatory warfare with its neighbours. How sad is the picture which may be drawn from the wretched state of insecurity in which a large portion of our fellow-creatures

This practice obtained also among the ancient Guanches.

are thus placed! Taught from their earliest years to live on in uncertainty, and knowing not the moment when their ruthless adversaries may destroy them or bear them away into captivity, they become indifferent to improvement, the natural ties of affection are weakened, and we find each living for the day and for self. Can we wonder that the benighted and degraded negro turns so often his thoughts and prayers to his favourite Fetiche or idol, and in the contemplation of forthcoming good or averted evil offers the idolatrous worship of his heart?

From what we learned, it seems probable that since the Slave Trade has declined in the Brass and Bonny Rivers, the greater portion of the slaves, collected by the Ibu people, are sent down in canoes by the Benìn branch to the sea-coast, thence they are forwarded through the Lagos creek to Lagos and Whydah, two of the most notorious haunts of the Brazilian slave-ships, and whence more unfortunate beings are shipped off than from any other place on the west coast, as the more recent enquiries into the odious traffic too surely prove.

Abòh is much the largest town in the Delta of the Niger, though we consider seven or eight thousand to be the extreme number of its inhabitants. Obi Osaï, the King of Ibu, is therefore one of the most powerful and influential rulers on the banks of the river, which is aided much by the position of his town, Abòh, at the upper part of the Delta, enabling him to control very

much the trade towards the sea; even King Boy, of Brass, is in some degree tributary to him. The amount of Obi's harem adds also to his power; for by obtaining the daughters of the principal men in the different villages, he secures an interest there, and thus his influence may be said to be in proportion to the number of his wives, of which he has at present about one hundred, one of whom is a daughter of the royal house of Ashạnti. Of course, also, his numerous slaves constitute a great portion of his wealth.

CHAPTER XI.

Physical characteristics of the Ibus—Religious superstitions—Idols numerous—Horrible practice on the birth of twins—Large earthen idol—Tshuku or the Great Spirit—Absurd stories of the priests—Abòh Creek—Beautiful birds—Native dwellings—Ezzeh Obi Osaï's mud palace—The Harem—Human sacrifices—Insalubrity of Abòh—Ornithology—Rare animals shot by accident—Plants—Domestic slavery—Obi Osaï's second visit to the 'Albert'—Obi Osaï kneels down with the white men to worship their God—His sudden fear—The "arrisi" or idol called for—The presents—Obi's anxiety to establish trade with England—Departure from Abòh—Ogou ladies—Proceed up the river—Body of a female floating in the stream—Ali Here, the Ibu pilot—Beauty of the country—"Osochaï"—Abòh trade-canoes—Okòh—Splendid sunset—Fishing-huts—Appearance of the hills—Anno—Abain-him or the "meeting of the waters"—Adda-Mugu or Abela—Sufferings of the former Expedition at this place—Circular huts first met with—The Edòh examined—Uliain village—King William's Mountain—Anchor off Iddah.

The natives of Abòh are comparatively tall for West Africans; well-made and muscular, but the hands and feet are large. The most prevalent colour of skin is yellowish or brownish-black. The features are truly negro, the nose expanded, lips rather thick, and without that pleasing outline observed in some negroes. The forehead is broad and less retreating than in their more intelligent neighbours the Eggarahs, but the maxillary bones are more prognathous or protruding, and the facial angle consequently less favourable.

The national mark is triangular, tattoed on each temple in the males, while the softer sex have various starlike distinctions on the breast and abdomen. The women are large, and inclined to "*embonpoint*," the effect probably of the fattening process they go through to arrive at the Ibu standard of female beauty. The countenance of these people is at once expressive of good nature and restless inquisitiveness.

The religious superstitions of Abòh are as various and degrading as at any place we visited, and the Fetiches, or idols, as numerous; every hut having one or more, as well as amulets, or charms, suspended from sticks in the quadrangular courts. Many of the idols had pots of water and food placed near them.

The accompanying sketch is taken from a Ju-ju, presented to Doctor McWilliam by one of Obi's sons.



It is carved in hard brown wood, and represents

the upper half of a human figure, emerging from a sort of basin; the arms are stretched by the side, and between them something like a trumpet. The features, though characteristic of the negro, are exaggerated.

One of their most horrible and extraordinary superstitions is that connected with the birth of twins; an occurrence looked upon as the greatest affliction that can happen to an Ibu woman. The little victims are no sooner born than one or both are taken away, placed in the neighbouring thicket in earthen pots or baskets, and left there to become the food of hyenas or other wild beasts. The unfortunate mother is separated for ever from her conjugal alliance; she is obliged to pass a long period of repentance and purification, in a rude hut some distance from the town; and if she outlives all these trials, mental and physical, and returns once more to society, she is regarded as an especial object of Fetiche wrath, and no woman will knowingly sit in her company, or hold communion with her. No wonder that it is so much dreaded by all Ibu women; to whom it is impossible to offer a greater insult, or one which rouses their angry feelings more, than to say the word "Abo-wadakri;" or by holding up two fingers, signify that they have had twins.

Another equally absurd, and scarcely less cruel superstition, is the sacrifice of such children as unfortunately cut the teeth first in the upper jaw. They believe it to indicate a wicked disposition, one hateful

to the gods or Fetiches, and therefore a proper subject for immolation on the altars of their abominable worship.

At a little distance from Obi's dwelling, and rather to the right, we came unexpectedly on a large earthen idol, placed in a thicket surrounded by high trees; this we believe to be the image to which most of their sacrifices are offered. Some persons who were near when we moved towards the direction of this sacred spot, made earnest signs for us not to approach, exclaiming, "Tshuku—Tshuku," and just as we had obtained a look of the figure, one of the Ju-ju men, or priests, came up in a menacing manner, and would not allow us to remain, or further to examine the neighbourhood. He appeared to be very much exasperated, and disposed to punish our temerity, which probably was only escaped by the presence of a good double-barrelled "Nock." This jealous care of the idol, and the exclamation "Tshuku—Tshuku" would lead to the supposition that it is the visible representation of a mysterious being or deity, whom they consult as an oracle under the same name. His votaries believe him to exist far off in the bush; that he has the power of speaking and understanding all languages; is cognizant of every thing that takes place in the world, and that he can punish evil doers. The priest whilst holding communion with Tshuku, is surrounded miraculously with water, and will perish instantaneously if he attempts to deceive. As all these absurd stories originate with the Ju-ju men, whose object is to mislead their too credulous dupes, we may



regard it as a better organized delusion, which is got up at certain seasons, and turned to good account by the actors.

The creek off which the Expedition had anchored is low and swampy on its left bank, covered with long grass or reeds, among which the numerous trading-canoes were moored. The right bank is magnificently wooded with large forest trees; and the rich variety of drooping *Orchidaceous* parasites, mingled with numberless flowers of brilliant colour, make it very picturesque and interesting. Some beautiful king-hunters or halcyons, were moving about in the neighbouring bushes, as also the pretty rufous-bellied fly-catcher (*Muscipeta rufiventer*) and the *Vidua erythrorynchus*, or red-billed Whydah bird, in its black and white plumage, the two very long and narrow tail feathers distinguishing it from all its little companions.

The capital of Obi's dominions called Abòh, is situated at the upper end of this creek, on the right bank; numerous little creeklets lead to the dwellings of the principal men, surrounded by the huts of their dependents, and here their canoes are laid up. There is no regularity observed in the position of the huts, except that they are built on either side of these creeklets, and about twenty to thirty yards apart, having a few palms or banana-trees, which afford the much-required shelter from the scorching rays of the mid-day sun.

Each family has one or more canoes wherewith to communicate with the other parts of the town during

the rainy season. Some are so very small that it is surprising how they contrive to make use of them. They have, in fact, no room for the legs, which are extended right and left over the gunwale, and serve to keep the balance.

The people were apparently well pleased to see us, and everywhere invited us into their little houses, where palm-wine, or some trifling refreshment in the way of fruit, was offered. The huts are of a square form, mostly double, placed at right-angles, neatly built of mud, and roofed with a compact matting of dried palm-leaves, and a sort of reed or juncus, which grows in the marshes near the river; the floor is raised a foot and a half. The entrance is square, and serves for the three-fold purpose of door, window and chimney, when they have a fire inside. The thatch or roof overhangs, and is supported by little pillars, which, as well as the exterior of the house, is curiously streaked with red and yellow clay, in some cases tastefully arranged. Those of the richer persons, as judges, headmen and Fetiche priests, are larger and have many compartments, with a quadrangular court, where most of the household and cooking operations are carried on, amid the usual noise and laughter of African damsels, by whom they are conducted.*

King Obi Osaï's residence is the largest in the town,

* On the roofs of many of these dwellings we saw the fulvous vultures or griffons, perched in a half-stupified state, probably the

and placed at some distance to the right of the spot where we landed, on rather higher ground than the others. It is an irregular building, but within presents a quadrangle or court, into which each compartment opens. With so large a harem, composed of upwards of one hundred wives* of all ages, from twelve to fifty, it was not to be wondered at that there was here an unusual amount of loquacity. Many sparkling eyes were peeping at us from within, where an animated discussion was heard, and it did not require any knowledge of the Ibu dialect to assure us that the white men were subjects of their conversation or amusement.

result of repletion with their disgusting food, the offal and carrion of the place. These birds are encouraged on account of their usefulness as scavengers. There is much difference between the young and old birds.

* The number of wives depends very much on the rank and wealth of the parties. Dr. McWilliam was enabled to procure the following statistics on the subject:

		Wives.		Chil	
Name and Rank.	Age.	Living.	Dead.	Living.	Dead.
Ajeh, King's brother .	40	80	40	uncertain.	uncertain.
Amorama, judge and King's mouth .	40	4	2	2	6
Ozama, headman .	35	4	2	2	6
Omeniho, head .	32	3	2	3	6
Amchah, headman .	28	4	1	3	6
Magoy, bugler . .	34	2	1	6	3
Ambili, headman .	35	3	2	3	11
Ogrou, headman .	30	3	1	2	2
Obi Osaï, King .	44	110	uncertain.		uncertain.

But among the many we questioned, three seemed to be the most frequent number.

The older wives came out unreservedly and shook hands, though laughing immoderately, and looking as if half ashamed to submit to this European salutation, which we were not sorry to substitute for the more royal one of kissing hands—unctuous with palm-oil. All the favourite wives had armlets and anklets of ivory, large and weighty. The principal dame had these ornaments of such an unwieldy size, that it obliged her to move the lower extremities in a manner neither easy nor graceful.

All the little toys and trinkets we took with us were gladly accepted; but amid so many eager claimants, it was difficult to divide our small stock satisfactorily; however, it was managed so that they all seemed pleased, especially the chief wife, who had a kaleidescope given to her, the bright and varying colours of which so much delighted her that she presented in return a *white* fowl, which we were told was an uncommon mark of favour.

The strong and peculiar odour arising from the congregation of so many dark-skinned "*houris*" in this confined place, obliged us to retreat to the outside, where the atmosphere, if not much cooler, was certainly more agreeable. Adjoining Obi Osaï's house was a rather high enclosure, between the palings of which were several pairs of eyes turned towards us with anxiety and curiosity. On mounting up one of the posts to obtain a better view, they all rushed, more like wild animals than human beings, into small dens, the rattling of their

chains at once pointing out that they were newly-captured slaves. After we left the spot one of the King's headmen went into them, and from the screams which followed, we judged it probable they were receiving punishment for drawing the attention of the white strangers to their unhappy condition.

In another part of the town, the officers entered into a small court-yard, round which were several huts; in one of these they saw a boy with a ring round his neck, to which a chain was attached and fastened to the hut; it was sufficiently long to allow him to come outside. Two headless goats were lying near this hut, which they were informed Obi had just offered in sacrifice. It is to be hoped that the poor boy was not reserved for a similar purpose. There is too much reason to believe, however, that human sacrifices are here practised in the most horrible manner: sometimes the poor creatures are dreadfully mutilated, and left to linger until death terminates their sufferings, on which they are thrown into the river, but it could not be ascertained that the number was great; they are mostly slaves, or persons convicted of great offences.

The appearance of Abòh during the rainy season is at once sufficient to account for its unhealthiness at other periods of the year. By the testimony of all parties, it was declared to be very sickly at most times, but especially on the exposure of the muddy deposits on the subsidence of the periodical floods. We are less astonished at the prevalence of fevers, often fatal even

to the natives themselves, than that anything human can exist in such a pestiferous locality, and the fulness of the creeks warned us that the most deadly season was rapidly approaching.

In the thickets surrounding Abòh, we saw many rare and fine specimens of African ornithology. The red-billed hornbill (*Buceros erythrorynchus*), with its hoarse grating call; the little rufous-necked weavers, with their pensile and curiously interwoven nests suspended in great numbers from every palm or cocoa-tree. The *Symplectes chrysomus*, or yellow-bodied weaver; the African golden oriole (*Oriolus auratus*), in its rich yellow and black plumage; the pennant-winged nightjar, with its long filamentous streamer in each wing; together with several of those beautiful little creatures the *Cinnyridæ*, or sun-birds, of these the white-bodied (or *Anthreptes leucosoma*), the *Cin. chalybea*, or red-collared sun-bird, in its prevailing rich green and gold, and double collar of blue and crimson, but the most rare and singular one was the *Nectarinia Adelberti Eboensis*, or Eboe sun-bird, since figured in Sir William Jardine's work on the *Nectarinidæ*—two specimens of which were shot. The general plumage is rich dark brown approaching to black in some places, a patch of emerald green—metallic lustre—on the crown of the head, extending downwards and backwards in two narrow lines below the chin; breast a dirty cream colour. While procuring specimens, a curious circumstance took place. A large grey-headed Senegal king-hunter,

perched on a banana-tree, was fired at and killed; in its fall it was accompanied by a number of small bats, which happening to be congregated in a fold of the broad and drooping leaf, were thus accidentally destroyed. They were of a new and interesting species, since described by Mr. Gray as the *Kerivoula poensis*.

The vegetation here offered a more extensive Flora than that presented at the mouth of the river, viz: *Palmæ*, *Bombaceæ*, *Mimosæ*, *Rubiaceæ*, *Sapodaceæ*, *Cucurbitaceæ*, *Gramineæ*, *Leguminosæ*, as also *Sterculia*, *Ficus*, *Malvinia*, *Ceratophyllum*, *Sarcocephalus*, and abundance of *Pistia*, floating all over the water.

The people cultivate rice, Indian corn, cassava, bannanas, oranges, cocos, ground-nuts, yams abundantly and of good quality, Pappaws, Guinea-peppers, &c., There is reason to hope the trade in palm-oil, ivory, &c., has increased very much; we saw many large canoes from Bonny, Benin, and Brass, laden with puncheons of the former, confirming what we heard on the coast, that a great portion of the oil procured in the bights is brought from the interior.

The people live apparently to a good age, for many were observed to be more than seventy years old. The number of domestic slaves is very large, in some towns being almost equal to the free inhabitants: they are well treated, and many of them become free. Those at Abòh are liberated when they build proper dwellings,

but they continue to pay a tax of forty yams each season, and a small tithe of their goats, fowls, &c. By thus incorporating them with the free people, many are induced to "sit down" quietly who would otherwise try and escape. There was a strong case in point with Ali Here, who was formerly, in 1832, as on the present occasion, lent by Obi as pilot. He was a young Haussa slave belonging to Obi, and was taken to Fernando Po in the 'Alburkah,' where he might have obtained his freedom, but he preferred returning to his master. On a similar offer being now made to him, he said he was married, and although he knew he was a slave, he had commenced a little trading on his own account, was quite satisfied with his lot, and did not wish to leave his country.

28*th.*—Agreeably to his promise, Obi Osaï went on board the 'Albert' this morning, where he was received by Captain Trotter and the Commissioners, with whom he breakfasted. His dress was not so gay as on his visit of yesterday, being merely a cotton jacket and trousers, much in want of a laundress, a red cap on his head, and some strings of coral, and teeth of wild beasts round his neck, wrists and ankles. He entered frankly into the views previously explained to him, and assented unhesitatingly to all required from him. It was, however, necessary that the Treaty, which had been drawn up on the basis of the draft furnished by Lord John Russell, with the addition of some articles relating especially to the free navigation of

the river, should be again read and explained to Obi and his principal headmen, especially the heir-presumptive, and the chief Ju-ju man, much to their annoyance; and as all this occupied a long while, apparently to very little purpose, he completely turned against ourselves the charge we made against the black people—of not knowing the value of time. In agreeing to the additional article, binding the Chief and his people to the discontinuance of the horrid custom of sacrificing human beings, Obi very reasonably inquired what should be done with those who might deserve death as punishment for the commission of great crimes.

The important Treaty* having been at length suffi-

* *Treaty between the Queen of Great Britain, and Obi Osaï Chief of Abòh or (Eboe or Ibu.)*

THERE shall be peace and friendship between the people of Great Britain and the people of Abòh, and the Slave-trade shall be put down for ever in the Abòh country, and the people of Great Britain and the people of Abòh shall trade together innocently, justly, kindly and usefully; and Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, and William Cook, Esq., Commissioners on the part of the Queen of Great Britain, and Obi Osaï on his own part, and that of his people as Chief of the Abòh country, do make the following Agreement for these purposes.

1.—The Slave-trade shall be utterly abolished in the Abòh country, and from the signing of this Agreement, no person whatever shall be removed out of the country for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves; nor shall any persons whatever be allowed to be brought through the country or any part thereof, for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves by way of exportation or otherwise; nor shall any persons whatever be imported into the

ciently explained, was signed by the Commissioners on the part of Her Majesty, properly witnessed; and

country for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves, and no subject of the Abòh country shall be in any way concerned in the exporting or importing slaves, or carrying on the Slave-trade, either within or without the limits of the country. The Chief promises to inflict reasonable punishment on all his subjects who may break this law.

2.—The officers of the Queen of Great Britain may seize every vessel or boat of Abòh found anywhere carrying on the trade in slaves, and may also seize every vessel or boat of other nations with whom a similar agreement has been made, found carrying on the trade in slaves in the waters belonging to the Chief of Abòh: upon such seizure, and after regular condemnation, according to the provisions of this Agreement, the slaves shall be made free, and the vessels or boats shall be destroyed.

3.—That in all cases of the seizure of vessels and boats, with the slaves on board, under the provisions of this Agreement, the said Commissioners, or those of them who may be present, and in their absence the commissioned or commanding officer on board the British vessel making the seizure, or any agent authorized for that purpose, shall in presence of the Chief or headman appointed by him, make due examination and inquiry into the case, and shall condemn the said vessel or boat with the slaves on board, if satisfied that the provisions of this Agreement have been thus contravened; or otherwise acquit and restore the same.

4.—That from and after the signing of this Agreement, no person whatever coming into the country shall be reduced into slavery, or treated or used as slaves. All white persons whatever, and all British subjects, of whatever colour, at present detained in slavery, shall be immediately set free.

5.—British people may freely come into the Abòh country, and may stay in it, or pass through it: and they shall be treated as friends while in it, and they may leave the country with their property when they please.

6.—Christians, of whatever nation or country, peaceably conducting themselves in the dominions of the Chief of Abòh, shall be left in

by Obi, witnessed by his eldest son and two brothers. Captain Trotter then requested the Rev. Theodore

the free enjoyment and exercise of the Christian religion, and shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the same to all persons whatever willing and desirous to be taught; nor shall any subject of Abòh, who may embrace the Christian faith, be on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever.

7.—British people may always trade freely with the people of Abòh in every article which they may wish to sell, and neither the British people nor the people of Abòh shall ever be forced to buy or sell any article, nor shall they be prevented from buying or selling any article with whomsoever they please; and they shall not be compelled to employ an agent, and the customs and dues taken by the Chief of Abòh on British goods sold in the Abòh country shall in no case be more altogether than one twentieth part of the goods so imported, or their ascertained value, and there shall be no duty, toll, or custom levied on goods exported.

8.—The paths shall be kept open through the Abòh country to other countries, so that British traders may carry goods of all kinds through the Abòh country to sell them elsewhere; and the traders of other countries may bring their goods through the Abòh country to trade with the British people.

9.—British people may buy and sell, or hire lands and houses in the Abòh country; and their houses shall not be entered without their consent, nor shall their goods be seized, nor their persons touched; and if British people are wronged or ill-treated by the people of Abòh, the Chief of Abòh shall punish those doing such wrong.

10.—But the British people must not break the laws of the Abòh country; and when they are accused of breaking the laws, the Chief may detain the person charged with committing any grievous crime in safe custody, taking care that he be treated with humanity; and shall send a true account of the matter to the nearest place where there is a British force; and the commander of such British force

Müller, Chaplain to the Commissioners, to ask a blessing of Almighty God on this successful commence-

shall send for the British person, who shall be tried according to British law, and shall be punished, if found guilty, and a report of such punishment shall be forwarded to the Chief for his satisfaction.

11.—If the Abòh people should take away the property of a British person, or should not pay their just debts to a British person, the Chief of Abòh shall do all he can to make the Abòh people restore the property and pay the debt; and if British persons should take away the property of the Abòh people, or shall not pay their just debts to the Abòh people, they shall be subject to the laws of the country for the recovery of the same; provided always that no injury be done to their persons. The Chief of Abòh shall make known the fact to the commander of the British force nearest to the Abòh country, or to the resident agent, if there is one; and the British commander or agent, whichever it may be, shall do all he can to make the British persons restore the property, and pay the debt.

12.—The Queen of Great Britain may appoint an agent to visit Abòh, or to reside there, in order to watch over the interests of the British people; and to see that this agreement is fulfilled; and such agent shall always receive honour and protection in the Abòh country; and the Abòh Chief shall pay attention to what the agent says, and the person and property of the agent shall be sacred.

13.—It is understood that all British vessels or boats are at liberty to navigate the river Niger, and its branches and tributaries, without the payment of any duties, tolls, or customs whatsoever. The Chief of Abòh promises to use his utmost endeavour to facilitate the conveyance of messengers and despatches to or from British people.

14.—The power of sanctioning or modifying this Treaty is expressly reserved to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

15.—Any infringement of this Treaty will subject the Chief of Abòh to the severe displeasure of the Queen of Great Britain, and the loss of the duties herein stipulated for.

ment of our labours. The nature of the ceremony we were about to perform having been explained to

16. The Chief of Abòh shall within forty-eight hours of the date of this agreement, make a law for carrying the whole of it into effect, and shall proclaim that law; and the Chief of Abòh shall put that law in force from that time for ever.

17. The Queen of Great Britain, out of friendship for the Chief of Abòh, and because the Chief of Abòh has made this Agreement, gives him the following articles:—

1 ornamented velvet cap.
1 double-barrelled gun, German silver mounted, flint lock.
1 pair of pistols, German silver mounted, flint lock.
1 Gilt mounted sabre.
6 yards of cotton velvet.
1 piece of Maddapolan.
2 pieces of printed Manchester goods.
½ piece of caricature handkerchiefs.
5 yards of superfine scarlet cloth.
5 yards of superfine blue cloth.
36 bead necklaces of sorts.
100 flints.
1 case, containing razors, knife, and scissors.
32 small looking-glasses.
1 large lustring umbrella.
1 telescope.
1 sergeant-major's dress complete.
4 red caps.
4 red jackets, baize.
4 shirts.
4 black jacks.
1½ piece of romal handkerchiefs.
1 pewter basin.
4 brass bracelets (bangles).
1 brass snuff-box.
2 dozen gilt buttons.
6 large pewter spoons.

Obi, with an intimation that he might remain or retire, he signified his wish to join us, and imitated our example in kneeling to the Christian's God—to him an unknown and inappreciable Being.

In that solemn moment, when the stillness was unbroken, save by the reverential voice of the clergyman, and all were devoutly engaged, Obi became violently agitated. On the conclusion of the ceremony he started up, and uttering a sudden fearful exclamation, called aloud for his Ju-ju man to bring his

. . .

6 small pewter spoons
2 brass lamps.
1 padlock.
6 pocket knives.
1 saw.
2 pieces of Pondicherry
1 piece of Naganapots
2 pieces of brawls.
1 piece of Madras handkerchiefs
1 piece of brown shirting.
2 pieces of Bejutepant.
1 piece of cotton Bandanas.
1 piece of Niccarree.
1 piece of Chillo.
6 tin horns.
1 Arabic Bible.
1 oil press.

And the Chief of Abòh hereby acknowledges he has received those articles.

And so we, Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, William Cook, Esq., and Obi Osaï, Chief of Abòh, have made this Agreement, and have signed it on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel 'Albert,' off Abòh, this twenty-eighth

protecting "Arrisi," or idol, being evidently under the impression that we had performed some incantation

day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one; and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Commissioner.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Commissioner.
BIRD ALLEN, Commissioner.
W. COOK, Commissioner.

OBI OSAÏ, his + mark, Chief of the Abòh Country.

Witnesses,
J. O. McWILLIAM, M.D., Surgeon,
JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN, Missionary,
WILLIAM BOWDEN, Secretary.

Witnesses,
ARIBUNDA, his + mark, AJEH, his + mark, King Obi's Brothers,
CHIKUMA, his + mark, King Obi's eldest Son.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

The Chief of Abòh declares that no human beings are sacrificed on account of religious or other ceremonies or customs in the Abòh country, and hereby stipulates that he will prevent the introduction of such barbarous and inhuman customs and ceremonies into his country.

And so we, Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William

to his prejudice, the adverse tendencies of which, it would be necessary to counteract by a sacrifice on his part. He stood trembling with fear and agitation; the perspiration streamed down his face and neck, showing how great was the agony of mind he endured. The priest had heard the cry of his sovereign, and rushing into the cabin with the idol—a piece of blackened wood,

Allen, Commander Bird Allen, William Cook, Esquire, and Obi Osaï, Chief of Abòh, have made this Agreement, and have signed it on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel, 'Albert,' off Abòh, this twenty-eighth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Commissioner.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Commissioner.
BIRD ALLEN, Commissioner.
W. COOK, Commissioner.

OBI OSAÏ, his + mark. Chief of the Abòh Country.

Witnesses,
J. O. McWILLIAM, M.D., Surgeon.
JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN, Missionary.
WILLIAM BOWDEN, Secretary.

Witnesses,
ARIBUNDA, his + mark. }
AJEH, his + mark. } King Obi's Brothers.
CHIKUMA his + mark. King Obi's eldest Son.

enveloped in cloth—which the King placed between his feet, was about to offer the customary libation of palm-wine, &c., when Captain Trotter, also much disconcerted at the idea of a heathen ceremony being performed in our presence, and in opposition to the rites of our holy religion, interrupted him, and called for Captain Bird Allen, who had just left the cabin. It was an interval of breathless anxiety, the King became every moment more alarmed, and desirous to continue his sacrifice, till it was explained to him that we had asked the Great God, who was Father of us all, to bestow his blessing alike on the black people and on us. This immediately pacified him, he desisted from the operations, and his good humour as quickly returned. The remainder of the visit was spent very much to his gratification, in pouring down his own throat the palm-wine intended for Ju-ju,—as well as that of good Spanish growth, which was placed before him—and afterwards in visiting every part of the vessel. On another occasion, his prejudices and anger were nearly excited by an officer, who, with more zeal than discretion, seeing a native on his knees before the King, was about to drive him away; saying, "He could not suffer kneeling on a Christian quarter-deck to any but to the King of Kings." The interference was very fortunately prevented, as "Simon Jonas" said it would have made Obi "mad" to have been deprived of the accustomed homage of his subjects.

The principal part of the ceremony, according to the estimation of our guest, was now commenced; namely;

the long and impatiently-looked-for exhibition and distribution of the promised presents. These consisted of sundry articles of gay wearing apparel, cloth, woollen and Manchester cottons, handsome fowling-pieces and pistols, with many other things, useful and ornamental.

Among those which particularly attracted Obi's attention were, a handsome gilt sword, some scarlet, and other fine clothes, a musical snuff-box, and a splendid cap of the established royal form of Ibu, but of more costly materials than had hitherto been seen among the *regalia*. It was of silk velvet, of conical shape, something like—if one might be allowed to compare great things with small—what we commonly call a foolscap, but decorated, from the rim of gold lace, with many rows of coral beads to the apex, which was surmounted by a handsome gold tassel.

A press for oil was included among the articles intended to be useful: but although great pains were taken to make all understand its purposes, by placing a wetted towel under the power of the screw, it is doubtful whether they will not consider their own manipulations *with the feet* to be better than our foreign conceits.

The effects of a galvanic battery excited as much surprise as terror. Few of the headmen could be prevailed on to try the experiment, and those who did touch the wires, dropped them in great trepidation after receiving a shock. Obi, however, shewed the magnanimity of a hero. He firmly grasped the conductors, and held them for a minute, although the muscles of his shoulder were evidently in strong electric

excitation. He would not shew signs of fear before his people, in whose minds this proof of courage, no doubt, greatly exalted him.

On receiving the presents, Obi was much pleased, but said he would rather have had plenty of goods to "make trade." He repeatedly expressed to Captain Trotter his wish and expectation, that many ships should be sent with merchandise, to exchange for the productions of his country.

3 A.M.	Th.	79^0	wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	76^0
9 A.M.	"	76^0	"	"	74^0
3 P.M.	"	80^0	"	"	75^0
9 P.M.	"	75^0	"	"	72^0

28*th*.—Our grand object having thus been happily accomplished, a salute was fired from the vessels, which were dressed in flags. We took leave of our royal and sable friend, and sailed in the afternoon at three o'clock.

The river is here much wider, and the banks shewed a greater diversity of character, being somewhat undulating. The gaily decorated steamers, moving about on the unruffled water, with here and there a canoe filled with anxious spectators, had a very pleasing effect. Indeed, all were in good spirits, and looking forward to the successful continuance of a mission commenced under such favourable auspices.

Abòh was soon out of sight. The 'Soudan' had been previously dispatched to examine the Bonny branch; a divergent on the left bank, from a part of the river, called in the former chart, Lander's Lake; which although very wide, does not warrant such an

appellation; but when the brothers Lander passed through it in their canoe, there was a dense fog, which made them suppose the banks to be more distant than they were. In this part, are two islands, abreast of one another, in the middle of the *lake*. The 'Soudan' having taken the channel to the eastward, to examine the Bonny branch; the 'Albert' followed that by the right bank; and the 'Wilberforce' passed between the islands. Above this the river is in one undivided stream of majestic width, nearly a mile. We continued till eleven o'clock, as the night was fine, and then anchored in the middle of the stream.

3 A.M.	Th. 78°	wet bulb	Mason's Hygr. 74°
9 A.M.	„ 77°	„	„ 74°,5
3 P.M.	„ 79°	„	„ 75°
9 P.M.	„ 77,°5	„	„ 75°

29*th*.—Being the Sabbath, we remained at anchor all day; and the usual divine service was performed. We had a visit from three native damsels, who came off in a small canoe from a village on the left bank, called Ogù. They appeared to be much delighted with all they saw, and still more so at a small present that each of them received. Nearly opposite to this was another town, Okbaï, with which we had no communication.

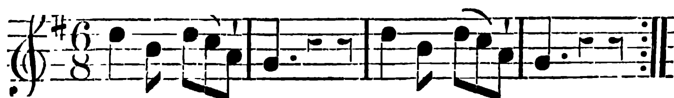
3 A.M.	Th. 78°5	wet bulb	Mason's Hygr. 75°
9 A.M.	„ 78°	„	„ 74°
3 P.M.	„ 77°	„	„ 74°
9 P.M.	„ 75°	„	„ 73°

30*th*.—Weighed at daylight, and took the schooner in tow. Rainy weather, with a slight tornado.

We passed a swampy island of considerable length, without any signs of cultivation; it was apparently covered with long grass and reeds. The body of a female was seen floating, which had evidently been some time in the water. The back looked as if it had been exposed to fire; the viscera protruded; and as it rolled over with the current, presented a sad spectacle, which we could not help connecting, in imagination, with some dreadful sacrifice to the Fetiche.

At a large village, called "Assàmarch," on the left bank, containing about three hundred inhabitants, we stopped for a short time, to land Ali Here, who had accompanied us thus far as pilot, by order of King Obi. He carried with him our last letters, to be sent down the river by the Brass trading-canoes. They, however, never reached beyond Abòh, where we found them on our return. Camwood is said to be very abundant all about this neighbourhood, and much of that sold at Abòh comes from the forests of Assàmarch.

The boat-song of the chief of this village sounded very sweetly across the water.



In this vicinity we passed a divergent branch on the left bank, which does not again return to the river; and, therefore, belongs to the Delta, which we considered to

terminate near this part, about one hundred and fifty miles from the sea; as, although we saw many insignificant creeks, apparently running off, we met with no real divergent after this. A large branch, on the right bank—about eight hundred yards wide, with a strong current—had all the appearance of being one; but on descending a short distance, until it had diminished to about two hundred yards, we found that the water escaped by various small creeks, and the principal joins the main river again at Owra Ucha. Another confirmation of having passed the Delta, was the appearance of rising land to the north-east about one hundred feet high. A little higher up, similar elevations were also seen over the right bank. Both had the appearance of a long line of gentle hills, running away diagonally from a point about twelve miles above this, and taking a direction respectively to the south-east and south-west.

The river was here exceedingly beautiful. The shores richly clothed with verdure, and many noble trees:—the *Bombax*, with its enormous trunk and rich festoons of creepers and *Orchideæ*, being very prominent. The amount of cultivation in yams, plantains, &c., proved the country to be populous, although the villages were but partially seen; being generally built in a thicket, which served as protection.

Some officers landed from the 'Albert' at a village called Osochaï. It was but small, containing only twenty-seven huts, most of them being quadrangular,

with projecting eaves; here the Governor sat in state, in front of his hut, the verandah of which was supported by seven rude pillars. He evidently considered himself to be very regal on his mud seat, covered with mats. Before him were several articles of Fetiche, and over his head, on the thatch, were skulls of oxen, of a monkey and a leopard. The object of the visit to this grave personage, was to purchase bullocks; but his dignity would not be compromised by yielding to our impatience, and so he was left.

We fell in with the Ibu traders returning from the Eggarah market. There were about sixty canoes of all sizes, each containing, from two or three, to seventy persons. Obi's son came alongside in one distinguished by a red flag, edged with yellow. He said he had made a good market, having purchased a large quantity of ivory. There were a number of boys and some girls in the canoe, but whether slaves or no, could not be determined; though we hardly doubted it, as the King had acknowledged that his son was away at the market, for the purpose of making such purchases.

3 A.M.	Th.	78°	wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	75°
9 A.M.	,,	78°	,,	,,	75°
3 P.M.	,,	83°,5	,,	,,	77°
9 P.M.	,,	77°,5	,,	,,	75°

31*st*.—Morning cloudy. The river is here very wide, with many large islands, where several alligators were seen from the 'Albert.' We kept along the right bank, in order to be able to define its line more clearly, and we ascertained there cannot be any diverging branches to the

west. We could form no conjecture as to the left bank, owing to the distance across, as well as the many intervening islands. At 7 A.M. it appeared like a large lake. Soon afterwards, having been tempted by the appearance of a fine channel away from the right bank, we got on the wrong side of a sand-bank, and ran into a complete *cul-de-sac*, where the river became gradually narrower and more shallow, till at last we had only four feet under the bows, and no room to turn. This delayed us considerably, and the schooner which we were towing, having run into the *bush*, hooked in the trees with her anchor, and had some difficulty in getting clear. We were obliged to drop some distance down the stream, and then go across to the opposite shore, which we ought to have kept close aboard. Passed Okòh, situated on the right bank, which is the dwelling of a chief, who is brother to the King of Abòh. The land rose about four feet above the water, and consisted of clay, covered with mould. The huts were a little way back, with extensive plantations round them. A large island, about two miles in length, lies opposite a channel, in which we lost sight of the 'Albert' and 'Soudan.' The river here is about eighteen hundred yards wide.

Gentle hills were seen over both sides, rising probably to the height of two hundred and fifty feet. Those to the eastward, over the left bank, were very beautiful, clothed with grass, much cultivation, fine clumps of wood and tall trees, scattered here and there. They have many towns; one especially, called Oncchàh, lies between four hills, and though claimed by Obi, is said to be always in

rebellion against him. At Akra-atàn, the last village belonging to that chief on the left bank, and which is probably inhabited by the same tribe as Onechàh, Obi took sanguinary vengeance some years ago for the murder of one of his relatives.

These hills decline towards the south-east. A little rivulet, about seventy yards wide, descending from them, was passed very close. The water in it appeared to be stagnant, owing probably to the cessation of supply from the hills: or, at all events, its current was overcome by the superior volume of the Niger. The shores of this little stream were well wooded, and had a beautiful aspect. The left bank, near its mouth, was seen in the low season of 1832, and then appeared to be formed of rock.

In this part of the river, were many *Pistia* floating separately, but higher up towards the confluence, we met them in large quantities.* This plant appears to have been displaced by rising waters from its tranquil domicile, as is frequently the case with others; for we saw several small floating islands of grass and other plants, clumps of rolled-up herbage, and stems of large trees lying horizontally, with their roots and branches partly emerging from the water—in the distance, exactly like canoes. The water is very muddy, of clay colour, the shores low, covered with brushwood, intermixed with so many creepers, as to form, sometimes for a great distance, a vegetable wall. This was particularly remarkable on

* These were seen in vast numbers in the Chadda, when beginning to rise, in 1833; but few were in the Niger above the confluence.

the left side of the still water just alluded to; behind it rose a few hillocks, with much cultivation (*Sorghum vulgare*), amongst which single trees of a moderate height, were interspersed.

All the country to the eastward of the Niger at this part is called Ibo, or Ibu, but is independent of Obi. Our interpreter, Simon Jonas, was a native of this district. He said that each town has its own separate chief. The principal place of worship is called Anno; and is much larger than Àbòh. The houses are high. The general trade is in slaves from the interior. The town is situated on the banks of the River Immo, which, above, flows through a rocky country; the water is clear, and very rapid. Canoes can communicate with the River Immo at Anno, by means of connecting creeks from Abòh, by way of n'Doki. This river is probably the old Calebar, or Cross, explored by Beecroft in 1841. At the nearest point on that river, about seventy miles due east from the Niger at Onechàh, there is a town called by that experienced navigator Acoono-coono; above which the river actually passes through a rocky country. The clearness of its waters would appear to indicate its passage through a lake higher up. Above Anno, Simon Jonas called it Abaïn-him, "the meeting of the waters." His account was confirmed by another native of that country.

Abreast of the Onechàh River was an island or sandbank, then overflowed, where the market called Oniàh, or Kiri, before alluded to, is held. Near it, at Assaba, the natives of Benìn come to trade by land. They have no

canoes. The Eggarah people bring the produce of the interior. Those from Abòh bring European goods, when they have them, or salt. The "Dryland" people from the hills behind Adda-mugu, or Damoogoo, or Abela, bring horses.

The sunset this evening was singularly beautiful. The effulgence of the glowing tints in the sky, reflected in the broad and unruffled expanse of the Niger, with the rich and varied foliage on its banks, gradually fading in the distant hills of Onecchàh, were such as even Turner could not have done justice to in his most gorgeous or extravagant exercise of imagination. The fine weather and the beauty of the scenery, seemed to have a cheering effect on the spirits of all hands, especially as we had passed the dreaded Delta without a single case of fever on board. Indeed, the voyage hitherto had been one of uninterrupted enjoyment.

We anchored in the middle of the stream soon after sunset. Temperature of the air 81°,2; of river-water 82°,4. The electricity of the atmosphere discharging itself all round us.

3 A.M.	Th.	78°	dew point	Mason's Hygr.	75°
9 A.M.	„	80°	„	„	75°
3 P.M.	„	83°	„	„	76°
9 P.M.	„	78°	„	„	76°

Wednesday, September 1st.—The air this morning was delightfully refreshing, being less charged with humidity than in the lower parts of the river. On landing for a short time, an *Orchidea*, four feet high, was found rooted in the earth. A great part of the jungle on the

right shore consisted of fig-trees, with long branches covered with fructification shooting out from the red wood and white bark, visible at a great distance. The ants were here dreadfully troublesome to the explorers. A very sweet powerful odour was perceived, like that of a *Tetracera*, gathered below Abòh; though no flowers could be seen in the vicinity, some were afterwards perceived at a distance with the telescope.

The character of the Niger had changed, as well as the appearance of the banks. Its course was nearly straight, instead of the numerous, and sometimes rapid windings of the reaches lower down.

There are many islands, which prevent the possibility of ascertaining the width of the river, as the true banks are seldom seen; but in the breaks between these it sometimes seems to be a mile and a half wide. The water is deep, especially near the right shore. On the left bank were many small huts raised on poles, from which the natives drop their fishing lines into the water.

At this part of the river the sickness fell on the crews of the vessels of the former Expedition, as it were, at one blow. In a few days, all, with the exception of Lander and Allen, were seized with fever, and the whole attendance on the sick depended on these two; the latter not having been taken ill until some were convalescent, and Lander, having been well-seasoned, escaped. Hitherto our crews had continued in perfect health; but they were aware that nine of the victims of 1832 were buried on the right bank, a little higher up.

We stopped a short time off Adda-mugu, or Abela, the chief town belonging to our old friend, Abokko,



who was so kind to Lander, on both occasions when he visited him. The first was when the brothers landed at his town in their adventurous voyage down the river in a canoe. They were then in a destitute condition, and received much disinterested hospitality from the old chief. On the second, Lander had an opportunity of rewarding him handsomely. We regretted to find on inquiry, that this magnificent old man had been dead some years. His family is however still in great power. One of his sons, Okien, succeeded him in the government of the town and territory of Adda-mugu; another, Edina, is the Nufia, or "Captain of the Port;" while his brother, Anieh Abokko, is the Annajah, or Governor of Addakudda, and all the

district in the neighbourhood of the confluence, subject to the Attàh of Iddah.

The huts at Adda-mugu were, for the first time, of the peculiar form which prevails in the interior, namely, circular, with high conical, thatched roofs. All below this town are square or oblong. The principal part of the town lies at a little distance from the banks, so that but few could be seen.



This place was formerly thought to be on the left bank of the river; but the 'Soudan' having entered a channel about twelve miles lower down, rejoined the main trunk above the town; thus proving its insular position; and the Niger was found to be much wider here than had been imagined, possibly five or six miles, where the island is the broadest.

After leaving this, the water close to the right bank is

very deep. A small stream, called Edòh, is here marked on Allen's chart as a *tributary*. It was, however, believed by Mr. M'Queen to be a diverging branch, communicating with the sea in the Bight of Benìn. In order to clear up this doubt, the 'Wilberforce,' having only the schooner in company, which was in tow, entered the river, with the view of exploring it a short distance. The current was found to be setting so strongly *into* the main river, that we had difficulty in stemming it; and, by indifferent steerage, the vessel was carried on the bank, remaining some time entangled among the bushes, from which we brought abundance of ants. In the meanwhile, the perversity of the eddy forced the 'Amelia' upon the other side of the point of confluence of the streams, so that she was obliged to cast off the tow-rope, and anchor, while we, after several failures, extricated the 'Wilberforce.'

Having satisfied ourselves that the Edòh *is* a *tributary*, and taken the 'Amelia' once more in tow, the unusual spectacle of two bright lights, like signals, approaching us, excited much surprise and various conjectures. The 'Albert,' however, soon made her appearance, having also gone up the creek, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of it, which we were not aware of, having been separated since yesterday morning. It was fortunate for both vessels, that she did not come down ten minutes sooner, as the night being very dark, we might have come in unpleasant contact. Captain Trotter was still up the river in the 'Soudan,' with the intention of exploring it fully.

After passing two small islands and a narrow creek on the right bank, he came at the distance of five miles to a bifurcation; one branch trending north-east, the other north-west. Pursuing the latter, with a depth from five to six fathoms, ten or eleven miles further, it became muddy and stagnant, and so narrow, that there was difficulty in turning the vessel, on account of overhanging branches of the trees, which they were obliged to cut away. They then returned to the main river, having proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that this cannot be a branch of the Niger, *falling into the Bight of Benìn.* Much cultivation on the banks and highland was seen to the westward.

We all anchored together in five fathoms, abreast of this little tributary, in the middle of the river, which is here about seven hundred yards wide. Some of the people from Uliam, a village on the left bank, opposite the Edòh, came on board, with a "dash" of fruit and vegetables. They wore neatly made tobes.

1st.—3 A.M.	Th.	77°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74°
9 A.M.	„	78°	„	„	75°
3 P.M.	„	76°	„	„	73°
9 P.M.	„	77°	„	„	75°

2nd.—Weighed at 5.50. The river appeared an interminable reach, in a direction due north, with long islands succeeding one another in the middle; the current two-and-a-half knots. We saw over the right bank a fine range of hills, the height of which appeared to be about five hundred feet.

At noon, in latitude 6° 51′ 6″ N., the breadth of the

Niger was found by micrometer angle to be one thousand three hundred and seventy-seven yards.

At 3 P.M., the 'Wilberforce' crossed over between two of the long islands, and took the channel to the eastward, while the 'Albert' continued in the western. We found ours to be a fine branch, four hundred and fifty yards wide, and thirty feet deep. The intervening island was so broad, that we could not see the 'Albert.' Both banks were populous, and well cultivated. Fishing, however, seemed to be one of the principal occupations of the natives; for facilitating which they grow about the huts a genus of *Leguminosæ* (the *Tephrosia toxicaria)*. The Krumen said the same plant is used for this purpose in their country. The leaves are dried and powdered, and then sprinkled on the water. The fishes devour it with great avidity, when they become stupified, and lie motionless on the surface; the fishermen then take them up by hand.

Towards evening we saw, in the distance up the river, the mountains named King William's range, and, nearer, a fine dome-like peak, named Mount Purday; soon afterwards, the cliffs of Iddah, formerly called Attàh, made their appearance. At 7 P.M. we anchored between the landing-place of Iddah and a long low island, which Lander had purchased from the King, and named English Island, on which he had intended to establish a factory.

2nd.—3 A.M.	Th.	77°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74°,5
9 A.M.	"	78°	"	"	75°
3 P.M.	"	82°	"	"	78°
9 P.M.	"	77°	"	"	74°,5

CHAPTER XII.

Appearance of Iddah by moonlight—Native welcome—Landing-place —Splendid panoramic view from the cliffs of Iddah—Doctor McWilliam and Mr. Schön sent to communicate with the Attàh—Native mode of salutation—Edina, a chief—His wives—Etiquette to be observed by strangers at Iddah—Princess Amadá Bue—The Attàh's pretty daughter, Idjee-Futhul—Amadá Bue prepares a breakfast in native fashion for the strangers—The Attàh's unwillingness to appear—His dress—Ministers of State—The message delivered—Singular reply of the Attàh—Rain must never fall on the Attàh—Conference of the Commissioners with the Attàh—Natives testify their joy at seeing white men—Amadá Bue's idea of human sacrifices—Appearance of the Attàh and his courtiers—Lobo, the chief judge—Articles of a treaty agreed on for the suppression of the Slave Trade and human sacrifices—The Attàh's desire for the establishment of a model farm—Promises to protect white settlers, and wishes to have "white teachers"—His evident anxiety to obtain the presents.

By the light of the moon, which threw its rich though softened rays over the river, and adjacent scenery with delightful effect, we could discern the irregular outline of the cliffs on which the town was situated. Fires were blazing in several places, and we heard the noisy tom-tom, or wooden drum, commingled with merry voices, as if to welcome our arrival, which had doubtless

been looked forward to with some anxiety for the last two days.

Throughout the entire night, the inharmonious welcome was kept up beneath a huge monkey bread-fruit tree *(Adansonia digitata)*, whose wide-spreading branches were shewn in bold relief, and where we could imagine some native dance, or superstitious ritual, was going on.

The 'Albert' and 'Soudan' had arrived a little before us. During the night, we had a delightfully refreshing breeze. On the following morning, the red sandstone cliff* presented a new and agreeable feature, quite different to anything we had hitherto met with,

* The cliffs of Iddah consist of beds of sandstone, from twelve to sixteen inches thick, inclining about 3° to the south-east, each bed in itself stratified. The sandstone is entirely composed of pieces of quartz, with a few lamellæ of mica and feltspar. The quartz hangs loosely together in the upper beds, while in the lower, a minute portion of clay helps to combine it.

In a few of the strata above the water-mark, I found some fossil remains; but, from the nature of the sandstone, in which the impressions only were left, as also the friable character of the formation, I could never obtain them in sufficient perfection to determine them The pieces of quartz are perfectly white; proving that not even a solution of iron could have been present at the time the sediment was formed, which is the more surprising, as it abounds in the deposit at the mouth of the river.

On the right bank, where exactly the same formation exists, I saw in the specimens collected for me, a combination with oxide of iron. The surface contains a layer of ferruginous sandstone, or iron conglomerate, about four feet thick, which forms the table-land of the

rising abruptly from the margin of the river to a height of 185 feet, its summit dotted with conical huts, while numerous *Convolvuli* and other trailing plants hung in long festoons over the precipitous edge.

The landing-place is near the village of Abokko, the former chief of Adda-mugu, and brother of the late King; from whence a narrow winding path leads up the acclivity to the town of Iddah.

On reaching the summit, a splendid panoramic view was obtained; on the right, were the irregularly scattered houses of the town; to the left, the smooth bright surface of the river extending upwards and downwards in its magnificent breadth, while on the opposite shore, a diversified and hilly country, clothed in richest verdure, was gradually lost in the outline of several distant mountain ranges.

As we had already consumed a large portion of our

country, and which, with a small angle of inclination, may be carried from the Kong mountains, at the confluence, to the hills of Iddah. The iron sandstone consists of quartz, with quartzose clay, combined with a solution of iron. The latter was sometimes found in fragments. On the southern slope of the hills, the ferruginous sandstone alters into iron-wacke, the porous red-coloured clay hanging between the fragments. There is also a similar description of iron-wacke found on the surface at Sierra Leone. The sandstone has been undermined and washed away; the more compact iron sandstone had broken down from its own weight; and so the valleys around Iddah have been covered with alluvial matter, consisting of clay and sand loosely bound together.—*Roscher's MSS.*

The soil on the hill is inferior to the flat and overflowed banks, but still capable of producing a good harvest.—*Roscher's MSS.*



fuel, it became necessary to have recourse to wood; the 'Wilberforce' and 'Soudan' were therefore sent over to the right-bank, where the Krumen were landed for the purpose of felling such trees as they know are suitable for the purpose.

Commanders William and Bird Allen, and Mr. Cook, remained with Captain Trotter on board the 'Albert' at the anchorage off Iddah, in order to open the negociations with the King for the attainment of the objects of our mission. As a preliminary step, and with the view of ascertaining the feelings and disposition of the Attàh, or King of Iddah, towards the Expedition, Dr. McWilliam, Mr. Schön, Brown, and an interpreter, were deputed to proceed on shore, with a present and a friendly message. As they passed along to the town, the natives frequently came out of their huts, uttering the usual congratulations of the country, "Sinùh, God protect you," or "health," while, at the same time, they prostrated themselves, touching alternately the earth and forehead with the fore-finger of the right hand. After a short walk, the deputation reached the residence of Okana, one of the sons of the late chief, Abokko; it consisted of a series of circular huts, very dark and close, with oval apertures, so small as to render ingress somewhat difficult. Okana being absent, they went to the hut of Apigo, favourite son of the late chief. He was employed in a way very agreeable to these people—

counting out his cowries, the country money. The object of the visit was explained, on which they were accompanied to the house of Edina or Missia, Abokko's son, and 'Captain of the Port.'

He received them under a verandah or projecting eave of the circular buildings, the walls of which were rudely ornamented with red clays. The doors, neatly carved, represented in slight relievo, short swords, heads, and various small figures, not unlike Egyptian hieroglyphics. The verandah was covered with a well-wrought matting of grass and bamboo. While sitting with Edina, who appeared very glad to see us, several Mallams or priests, from Adda Kuddu came to pay their respects to him. On approaching the verandah, they prostrated themselves, lifting earth to their foreheads nine times—they then entered, muttered a prayer for a few minutes—in which the host joined, and then shook hands in the native fashion, with the usual expression of welcome, "Sinùh."

Edina, a Mahomedan, is a tall, fine-looking man, with rather a good head for a negro. He had on a red cap, and a long purple tobe, nicely ornamented over the breast with needlework. The feet uncovered, according to their custom.

At the door of the hut opposite, several young and rather good-looking women were staring at the strangers, with the usual amount of laughter—these were some of Edina's wives. On Dr. McWilliam asking him how

many he had, he replied, "I have now fifteen, but I expect soon to be enabled to add to my establishment."

Edina informed them it was part of the etiquette of the Iddah Court, that the King should be apprised, through a near relation, of a stranger's intended visit, and that this duty at present devolved on Amadá Bue, the Attàh's sister, who would on seeing them, send a messenger to the King, or Attàh, and would inspect the presents about to be offered.

After waiting an hour or more, one of the Attàh's eunuchs came to say the Princess would receive them. Proceeding by a long narrow path, they reached the wall separating the northern and southern divisions of the town—near which was Amadá Bue's house, which they found no slight difficulty in entering, having to scramble through a dozen dark huts successively.

After sitting a few minutes under the verandah of the dwelling, a spare black figure crawled forth on hands and knees from a narrow and obscure recess; this was no less a person than Princess Amadá Bue, the Attàh's sister. She was apparently about forty years of age. The head was closely shaven, and the jet visage, was rendered the more so, by some application to the nose and cheeks; which, with a black cloth thrown loosely round her middle, indicated that she was observing the ceremonial of mourning for some near relative. She was accompanied by Idjee-Futhul,

daughter of the Attàh, a very pretty girl of seventeen or eighteen, whose only garment was a blue cotton cloth folded negligently round the loins. Her arms were each encumbered with fifteen brass rings, so weighty, that she was obliged to rest them on the shoulders of her attendants; the toes were also decorated with metallic rings. The perforated ears had each a blue cylindrical bead; the hair combed into a ridge traversing the back of the head. Amadá Bue received her guests kindly, smiled, held out her hands and saluted them with the usual congratulation, "Sinùh," or "God protect you." It appeared she was at present in retirement, sorrowing according to native fashion for her husband, who had died some time previously. Having sent a message to the Attàh, who would announce when he was ready to receive the strangers, she examined in the meantime the small presents for her brother, and one for herself, with which she was much gratified. Tired of waiting for the royal answer, the officers walked round the town, and returned in an hour; but still no summons, which rather annoyed them, as they were fatigued, and had unfortunately landed before breakfast. The courteous widow, however, begged them to remain a short time longer, when she came back with two slaves, each bearing a wooden dish, which was placed before the visitors. Another attendant brought in a brass basin containing water, into which she dipped her fingers gracefully, then stooped and uncovered the dishes, taking out a little from each, which she ate, to show it was

good and wholesome, then desiring them to be refreshed, she retired.

The repast consisted of stewed meat and duck, with Foo-Foo, or yam *pounded*, with palm-oil poured over it, which were both very palatable after so long a fast. About half-past twelve, the King's eunuch came to say his Majesty would now give audience, and they soon reached the palace—a number of quadrangular and circular huts, some of them rather dilapidated, enclosed by a wall—here they were ushered into a circular one, used as a sort of waiting-room, where their patience was further tried. Some mats and two pieces of Kidderminster carpet were placed for them to sit on, which Brown recognised as those presented by the late Mr. Lander. They were thence conducted into an oblong court, surrounded by huts, where, after again sitting two hours, the Attàh sent to say, "he wished God to bless them, but it rained to-day, and that, as rain never falls on the King, he could not receive them."

The messenger was requested to go back to his Majesty and say, "they had waited a long time, on the promise that he would grant an interview; that Englishmen did not like to be trifled with, and that they must return to the Captain of the Expedition."

Soon after this, the eunuch came to inform them the "Attàh would see them."

At the same time, a sort of rude throne was prepared by throwing an ample scarlet cloth over a framework of bamboo, and over all, a piece of Turkey carpet.

A discordant din of drums and rude instruments of reeds, &c., announced very shortly the approach of his Majesty. A door was suddenly opened at the further end of the court, whence he was borne in on a large cushion, by eight stalwart slaves—the difficulty with which he was carried, plainly testifying to his large size and weight. The noise of the populace outside was deafening.

Having deposited the Attàh on his throne, a screen was suspended before him for a few minutes, probably to conceal some further arrangement of his toilet; on this being withdrawn, the sovereign of Iddah received the strangers in a composed and dignified manner. He is a person of immense size, the skin jet black and shining, the eyes large, but sluggish. He wore an ample tobe of red velvet, and a pair of loose scarlet trowsers, with a helmet-shaped cap of divers colours, ornamented with beads and coral: a profusion of this latter hung around his neck. His feet, which were enclosed in very large red leather boots, surrounded with little bells, dangled carelessly over the side of the throne. A large crimson umbrella was held over him. There were several fan-bearers in the suite, who observed a certain regularity of motion in keeping the air freely circulating. On the left stood the "King's Mouth," or prime minister, having in his hand a small horn, partly covered with red cloth. Under the throne sat the judges (Mallams), and a host of others, all eager to hear the "white man's palaver."

Johnson, the interpreter, was then desired to say, "that the party came by order of the Captain of the ships, who, with three other gentlemen, were Commissioners to the Attàh from the Queen of England, conveying her Majesty's desire to make a friend of the Attàh, as also of all good black men. That the Commissioners hoped the Attàh was in good health, and they would be very glad if he would come on board, and receive the Queen's message from their lips. That the interpreter himself had been once a slave, taken when a boy from this very place; but, through the power of the Queen, he was made a free man; and such her Majesty wished all men on earth to be."

A small present, sent by the Commissioners, was then shewn the Attàh; on which he asked through his 'mouth,' or prime minister, "if they had said all, and if they had done;" and being informed they had for the present; the Attàh, through his 'mouth,' replied:

"I am glad, and I first thank God to see you near me. If your countrymen are glad to see me, they must believe what I say. The late King wished white men to *come* to his dominions, but he did not care to *see* them. I am now the Attàh, or King, and white people have come to visit me, and it gives me great pleasure. If they intend to be true friends, they must not be in a hurry; for I like my friends to eat and drink with me several days. If a stranger comes to me, I cannot let him depart without a fair and proper

understanding. I did not like to come out in the rain; but the white men were resolved to see me, and I imagined from that, they could stop it; *but it rains as much as ever.* The river belongs to me, a long way up and down, on both sides, and I am King. The Queen of white men has sent a friend to see me. I have also just now seen a present, which is not worthy to be offered to me—it is only fit for a servant. God made me after His image; I am all the same as God; and He appointed me a King. Can I send a messenger to the Queen of the Whites?"

Dr. McWilliam said, "Most certainly; the Queen will be delighted to hear from the Attàh of Iddah, and to establish a lawful trade with him."

The Attàh, through his 'mouth'—"You ask me to go on board of a ship. A King in this country never goes on board ship. He *never* puts foot in a canoe. When white people were here before, the King never went on board. If any one desires to see *me*, he must come to me. If to speak privately, I will dismiss my people. If it be a public matter, then I shall allow them to remain; but the King *never* goes on board ship."

Dr. McWilliam said, "they were only messengers, and not at liberty to say anything more; they could only convey the King's answer to the Commissioners; but felt assured, that if a palaver was held with them, the Attàh would be much more satisfied."

The Attàh—"Very well, I will see no one, unless the chief man (captain) comes. Good night! God bless you all!"

Turning to Johnson, the interpreter, who was an Eggarah, and a relative of the Attàh's, he said, "You may thank God your family is now on the throne."

The Attàh was very much amused at Mr. Schön's spectacles, and even smiled, which obliged the fan-bearers to hide the royal countenance for a short time; as it is contrary to etiquette to let strangers or common people witness an emotion so entirely beneath the dignity of an Iddah sovereign. When he eats or drinks, the persons in attendance all turn their backs to him, that he may not be seen doing what is inconsistent with their notions of royalty.

3 A.M.	Th.	79°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	76°
9 A.M.	„	77°	„	„	74°
3 P.M.	„	76°	„	„	74°
9 P.M.	„	76°	„	„	73°

4*th*.—This has been an important day, and full of interest, the conference between the Attàh of Iddah and the Commissioners having taken place this afternoon. They landed at 2 P.M., accompanied by such officers as could be spared from the different vessels; a guard of marines, led by Duncan, master-at-arms of the 'Albert,' a fine-looking man who had been in the 1st. Life Guards, dressed in the uniform of that regiment, with cuirass and helmet. The procession was headed by a Timmani black, from Sierra Leone, in sailor's clothes,

bearing the union-jack. On landing, the party was met by a native band with wooden drums and reed instruments, which continued to perform a variety of simple airs, or what one might properly style "a *concord* of rude sounds." Passing along a narrow path for about two miles, we reached with difficulty the dwelling of Princess Amadá Bue. On all sides, the inhabitants testified the greatest delight at the presence of the white people; shouting out "Sinùh! Sinùh! God protect you!" and shook their *clenched hand* at us, which was very complimentary, while not a few jumped about and danced in the exuberance of their happiness. There was an immense crowd assembled, all eagerly pressing forward to get a glimpse of the strangers, or to be near the Attàh's musicians.

Having received the Commissioners and officers with great politeness, the Princess dispatched a messenger to the Attàh, to inform him of their arrival. She was still in her mourning attire, a loose black cloth folded negligently round her; the natural darkness of her skin was heightened by an earthy preparation. Her niece, Idjee, was with her. Palm-wine, native beer made from Guinea corn, and goora or kola-nuts, were handed round, the affable hostess first partaking of each, to shew there was no poison in any of them. The goora-nut is used all over Western Africa, not only as a tonic, and to add a *goût* to fluids, but also as an especial mark of welcome and distinction to the stranger. It is an agreeable bitter. The kernels have a thin external covering of a chocolate

colour; within, the fruit is of a purplish tinge, traversed by darker fibres. It is generally divided—not unfrequently as boys divide apples, *i. e.* by the teeth—into small pieces when presented. This Princess is the same person who was so influential on Lander's visit, and was then called the Queen. She still appears to be all-powerful; at least she had the arrangement, as before, of our interview with the King, though she did not accompany us. She bears evidence of increased age, and being in mourning, she was so filthily dirty and mean in her appearance, that it required some exercise of faith in the correctness of our recollections to induce the belief that she was the gay, bustling woman who managed all the preceding King's affairs, and who, taking Lander's arm, led us into the royal presence. She now crawled out of a dark hut, and sat in the entrance, conversing with us on various points relative to our present and former visits; having remembered Commander William Allen quite well, and inquired after Mr. Lander.

One of the missionary gentlemen explained to her the views and benefits of Christianity, which she listened to with deep interest, and expressed a desire that Christian 'Mallams' should be sent to teach them. She acknowledged the folly of the superstitions of her country; but having been brought up in the observance of them, and being but a woman, did not dare to make any alteration in her faith. As to human sacrifices, she allowed that they do invariably obtain, on the death of Kings and

chief men; as also when their successors take up the office: at least one wife and ten eunuchs and servants forfeit their lives on the demise of an Attàh. Although she could feel for others, yet she would wish to be placed in a position so to suffer.

Amadá Bue's house is situated at the northern extremity of the cliff, commanding a view of the river and of the country to the eastward, through which a beautiful little stream meanders among cultivated land and magnificent forests.

After having exhausted all our topics of conversation, and some jars of country beer, with the dirty Princess, we became tired of her company, and wandered to the precincts of the palace, rather prematurely, as it appeared, for no preparations were yet made for our reception. We sat some time in a small court-yard, surrounded by buildings having verandahs, and some attempts at architectural ornament. At one end was a lofty thatched tower, which was erected, we understood, in order that the late King might be enabled to see our vessels. We were here reminded of the respect due to the place by an attendant, who requested us not to talk loud. Some *great* men, and some very *dirty* ones, soon began to assemble. Among the first was Lobo, the chief judge; a fine-looking person, very handsomely dressed: his manners and appearance were, indeed, so dignified and elegant, that he at least could not be classed among *the uncivilised*.

The court now filled with people of all grades, judging



from their motley appearance, though it is to be presumed that none but the privileged were allowed the *entrée*. Among the crowd were a number of 'Mallams,' one of whom was pre-eminent in age and importance, of which his long snowy beard was a very distinguished evidence.

A party issued from a side-door to the sound of bells, and we then expected the King to make his appearance. They took their seats at the upper end of the court, with their backs to the verandah, which was concealed by a curtain. The musicians made a loud discordant noise, and the populace outside gave a shout; at the same time a large curtain was lowered at the end of the court, and Ochejih, Attàh of Eggarah, was seen on a throne, formed of a bamboo frame, covered with mats and carpets; the latter were given him by Lander. He was almost smothered by his garments, and surrounded by attendants, who were fanning him vehemently. Their office was also to conceal the royal countenance when speaking or laughing, and they then uttered the most hideous yells, in which the courtiers joined. This practice Commander W. Allen had seen at the Court of Fandah, and it was brought here by the present King, who is of the royal family of that country; it had not been introduced by the former sovereign.

The Attàh was arrayed in an ample tobe, fantastically brocaded with gold, beneath which was another of red velvet; and, judging from his size, many others of

various hue might have been his under-garments. The trowsers were loose, and of the favourite colour, scarlet. His feet were inserted in a pair of enormous red leather boots, to which a number of bells were fastened; and the royal pastime of jingling these, ever and anon, reminded us of the nursery rhyme—

"Rings on the fingers, bells on the toes," &c.

A large brass or gilt plate, with a raised representation of the human face (not unlike 'the man in the moon'), suspended from his neck, and hanging down on the breast, seemed to be an important article in the *regalia*. It was worn by the former King when Lander and Allen visited him. His cap was conical, something like that of Obi's, but ornamented with feathers; and in his ears were ivory discs, stuck in the lower lobe, large enough to cover the whole ear.

The principal courtiers were seated close round the throne, with their backs towards it, excepting a large party (probably of 'Mallams,' or 'Mahomedans,' as the old man before mentioned was at their head); these sat facing the King. They were, for the most part, neatly dressed in white tobes and small caps, though some had them blue or checked, with a sort of embroidery round the opening for the neck. Others wore dresses which they seemed to have vowed never to take off, they were so filthy and so ragged.

Lobo, the chief judge, was pre-eminent for dignity, as he was in the elegance of his dress, and looked remarkably handsome. His tall figure enveloped in an ample tobe of very light blue cloth, with a broad fringe of red figured damask; beneath this appeared a loose shirt of scarlet cloth. Over one shoulder hung a scarlet scarf; several leather amulets were suspended round his neck; one of which was covered with snake-skin. He wore a dark woollen cap, with a blue band; each ear was partially concealed by an ivory ornament, which was retained in its place by piercing the lower lobe. His fingers were covered with various metallic and ivory rings. A loose pair of scarlet trowsers completed the costume. He was attended by a young slave, who carried the sword of justice. His whole appearance was extremely commanding, and his features expressive of intelligence, dignity and benevolence, which accorded well with the accounts given of him by his countrymen.

The Attàh attempted to look very grave and important, but at once invited the Commissioners and officers of the party (who had accommodated themselves with seats as well as they could, none having been provided) to shake hands, which they did, each repeating the salutation, 'Sinùh!' Mr. Schön, our excellent chaplain and missionary, when it came to his turn, addressed him in the Haussa language, in the style usually observed towards Kings and great people—'God give you long life!' To which he responded

"Amin, Amin!" looking astonished that a white could speak in the native language. Captain Trotter now intimated, through Johnson, the interpreter (a relative of Ochejih's), his wish to open the proceedings, when the Attàh was ready.

As it is quite beneath the dignity of an Attàh to reply from the throne except through his 'mouth,' or Bekki'n Sàliki; this functionary, who stood near the throne, explained, "that when strangers came to visit him, the Attàh first gave them water; after which he will be ready to hear." This speech elicited the applause of all his court, as well as the people outside, who were probably apprized, in some way, when to join the acclamations.

Palm-wine, country beer, in small English jugs, and goora-nuts were then handed round, and when partaken of, the Commissioners thanked him for the refreshment.

The Attàh observing some of the officers writing, said through his 'mouth,' or interpreter, "that he did not like it." It was, however, soon explained to him, that they were merely taking a description of his court, which caused him to laugh. The fan-bearers immediately put forth their fans to screen their sovereign from such an exposure of his feelings, it being quite incompatible with Eggarah royalty to betray any emotion in presence of strangers.

Attàh (*through the 'mouth,' or interpreter*).—If you have anything to say, begin.

Commissioners (*to Johnson*).—Tell the Attàh that our sovereign, the Queen of Great Britain, has sent the four ships to the river, and the four Commissioners now present, with a message to him; and that she wishes her people and the Attàh's people to be good friends. (This announcement was followed by a loud shout of applause.) Our Queen is most anxious that black men should not be taken away from their country, their homes, their wives, children, friends, and sold into slavery; but wants the trade in slaves to be done away. (All became very silent and attentive at this statement.) The Queen desires to do away with that traffic altogether, and to establish instead of it a friendly commerce in palm-oil, camwood, ivory, and any other articles the Eggarah people can produce for sale.

Attàh's 'mouth.'—The Attàh is very glad. (A loud shout from the attendants.)

Commissioners.—Tell the King, that English people trade with all parts of the world; and that the Queen will encourage her people to come to Iddah to trade, if the King will abolish the Slave Trade.

Attàh's 'mouth.'—Attàh says, when you have said all, he will answer.

Commissioners.—Say to the King, that if he will consent to give up the Slave Trade, our great Sovereign will not only encourage her people to come to Iddah to trade, but that the King shall have one twentieth part of all merchandise sold in the Eggarah country from British ships.

Attàh.—Very good.

Commissioners.—Will the King make a law to abolish the Slave Trade in forty-eight hours.

Attàh.—Promises to do so.

Commissioners.—Tell the King that English ships have been here to trade, but his people have been so busy in slave-dealing, that they have not had any cargoes ready to sell them; it will therefore be impossible for us to recommend them to come back, unless the King does away with the Slave Trade, and gets articles ready for traffic when the ships come.

Attàh.—Will do so.

Commissioners.—Say to the King, that as he has agreed to abolish the traffic in slaves, the Queen has sent him a handsome present, and will be very glad to hear that the Attàh has put down the Slave Trade. The King will have to sign an agreement, and when it is done, the presents shall be given to him; and say further, that it is our religion which makes the Queen and the British people anxious to do good to the African people. That she does not trade, but that her people do.

Commissioners.—Tell the King that we profess the Christian religion, and are anxious his people should be taught.

Attàh.—Very well.

Commissioners.—Tell the King that God's word is contained in this book (handing up an Arabic Bible to him), and that it will be left with him.

Attàh.—Is very glad. (The Bible was handed by his people to the chief 'Mallam,' or priest, to inspect).

Commissioners.—Say to the King, that this Bible is God's book; that teachers will come and instruct his people, and when they do come, he must treat them well. If the Attàh's people meet a boat on his waters carrying slaves, he must break the boat or canoe, and liberate the slaves.

Attàh.—Is willing. (Another loud shout of approbation.)

Commissioners.—Say that the Queen's subjects must be permitted to trade with any of the Attàh's people; that English vessels or boats may pass up and down the river, whether they stop to trade or not. That the Queen of England has plenty of ships on the great water to catch ships carrying slaves, and that she sets the black men taken in them free. The Queen is very powerful; so much so, that the sun never sets upon her dominions.

Attàh.—If you have done with all the questions, he will give you an answer.

The list of presents intended for his acceptance was then read. On which the Attàh said, "He was much obliged to the Commissioners;" and said, "God save the Queen."

Commissioners.—Ask the Attàh what articles his people most require, that they may be brought up here to market. The English want ivory, cotton, indigo,

and will send people to teach them how to cultivate the soil properly. Traders desirous of passing through the Eggarah country to other countries, must pass free. If agents and teachers are sent, will they be safe?

Attàh.—Will be *very glad to have them and will take care of them.*

Commissioners.—Our Queen hears that the Attàh allows the sacrifice of human victims, and wishes him to give up this custom, because it is contrary to the commandments of God—*that* God who made all men.

Attàh.—Will discontinue human sacrifices.

Commissioners.—Do the Filatah people trouble the Attàh's country at Adda Kuddu, and other places?

Attàh.—Yes.

Commissioners.—Have they driven your people from Adda Kuddu?

Attàh.—Yes.

Commissioners.—Will the King give us Adda Kuddu, with a large tract of land, to be purchased, to make a farm there, to show them how to grow indigo and cotton properly?

Attàh.—Will give land, and will tell the person now in charge as Governor, to give it up to the white men, and will send his people to learn from them. He also consented to send a person up with the Expedition to order the Governor to cede the land to them.

The Commissioners hope the Attàh will soon be

friends with his enemies, and that he will be successful in his war. (This remark was made in consequence of the King's stating that he was at war with a branch of his own family.)

The Commissioners cannot go to war in the Attàh's behalf, but, if possible, they will induce his enemies to make peace with him.

This announcement pleased the Attàh very much.

Commissioners.—We wish to build a fort to protect our countrymen, and those under them.

Attàh.—Will permit the building of a fort, and will assist.

Commissioners.—Wish to have an island in the river.

Attàh.—Is very willing. It is very good. From Jogùh to Kakanda below, the country belongs to him; when the King puts Englishmen as rulers they must let him know if the people trouble them, and they must not forget him. If any body annoys him, he will tell the white men, that he and they may be as one. He has nothing more to say, ***but he would like to see the presents which have been enumerated to him,*** and hopes to see them to-morrow.

Commissioners.—Tell the King that to-morrow (Sunday) is God's day, and we do not work on that day, but will go this evening to the other side, and return to him on Monday with the presents. God says in His Book, that we shall keep one day in seven

holy. God made heaven and earth in six days, and rested on the seventh.

Commissioners.—God does not allow us to make any image of Him; but we pray on the Sabbath day, and keep it holy. God made everybody. If a man be rich, God bestows it; if a man be strong and healthy, God gives it. God directs all things in the world.

Being now almost dark, and no lights forthcoming, the interview was concluded until Monday, when the Treaties were to be finally adopted. Before the Commissioners departed, the Attàh sent for Duncan, whose striking uniform and soldierly appearance took his fancy very much. He wished to know if the Queen had many soldiers as fine looking and well accoutred. He could scarcely believe the statements about our military force.

The King was as impatient as Obi, but with more dignity. He frequently said, "When you have done with all your questions, I will answer them." But if he intended to have made a long speech, he was prevented by the lateness of the hour, which he frequently alluded to by pointing to the setting sun, and he appeared to think, as Obi had, that the white men did not know the value of time. All the points of the Treaty were acceded to on their being proposed, his anxiety to receive the presents being evidently an all-prevailing motive, though, in some of his remarks, he shewed that he was not inattentive to his interests, nor to the explanations which were given. A considerable portion

of time was occupied in complimentary speeches on both sides; and, on one occasion, when our august and beloved Sovereign was alluded to, he called forth a burst of enthusiastic loyalty from our party, by saying 'God bless the Queen,' which was immediately responded to by our bugles playing the National Anthem, all the officers of course standing with heads uncovered, unmindful of the tropical sun.

The Attàh wished to see the bugle, the complicated construction and *gold-like* material of which excited his astonishment, and he no doubt would have been glad to accept it. He was, however, too *well-bred* to give utterance to such a wish. He only asked for some writing paper, which was promised.

In reference to the objects proposed by the Agricultural Society, in establishing a Model Farm on the banks of the Niger, Dr. Lushington and Sir T. F. Buxton, had addressed a letter to Lord John Russell, urging the great importance of having the nascent Colony on British territory, and, indeed, that it was indispensable, in their judgment, for the success of the views of the Society. His Lordship, however, thought it right only to instruct the Commissioners to make this proposition the subject of their careful inquiry, with a view to reporting:

1. Whether a tract of land of that nature could easily be obtained, and on what terms.

2. Whether such territory might be acquired in a district deemed tolerably healthy for Europeans.

3. Whether the neighbouring tribes would be likely to be friendly or hostile to the proposed agricultural establishment; and

4. What force would be necessary for the protection of such territory.

His Lordship further directs, "You will have carefully to weigh, therefore, the practicability, advantages, and dangers of acquiring sovereignty for the Crown over a considerable territory. You are not to satisfy yourselves that a single chief is willing to sell his dominions, or a portion of them, but are to consider the hazard of jealousy, and of hostility being excited among neighbouring chiefs, by the appearance of the British flag, as a token of sovereign power in the midst of their possessions. You will have to calculate the force that would be necessary to maintain and defend the territory that might be acquired—the facility or difficulty of relief—the extent of territory necessary to protect those who might seek shelter and security within its borders, as well as the danger of invasion from any European power which might have settlements on the coast."

The Commissioners took all these points of view under their serious consideration, and the only one which appeared in an unsatisfactory light, was with respect to "the facility or difficulty of relief"—which we could not but see from the experience we had had of the fatal climate, and the intricate navigation of the river, as well as the shortness of the period during the whole year in which it would be open to vessels of our

draft, was not to be decided on favourably in the present insufficient state of our knowledge.*

The sovereignty of the territory, therefore, which the Attàh was so willing to cede was only accepted conditionally, subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

Sept. 4.—3 A.M.	Ther. 77°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hyg.	74°
9 A.M.	78°	,,	,,	74°
3 P.M.	82°	,,	,,	75°,5
9 P.M.	80°	,,	,,	76°

* In a dispatch subsequently received from Lord Stanley, the Commissioners were expressly prohibited by his Lordship "from concluding any treaty or agreement with any African Chief, which should have the effect of binding Her Majesty to give military aid to such chiefs, or to assume any right, or sovereignty, or protection over any portion of the soil or waters of Africa. In no case are you to take any step which may fetter the discretion of the Queen's Government."

CHAPTER XIII.

The 'Wilberforce' and 'Soudan' dispatched across the river to procure fuel—Hostile character of the Natives—Their wars with the Eggarahs—Savage appearance—Arms—Beauty of the country—Ants' nests—Their formation—Snakes—The kola or goora-nut—Town of Wappa—The Chief "Egada Yaluelama"—King Obàh of Benìn—Human sacrifices—Specimens of birds—Snakes—Venomous centipede—African scorpion—Final interview of the Commissioners with the Attàh—The treaty signed and attested—Arabic Bible presented—List of presents—Scene in the Attàh's palace—City of Iddah—Divided into districts—Militia—Houses—Market place—Articles for sale—Cotton manufactures—Native smiths—Arms, &c. —Dying—Method of fishing—The Mallams—Physical character of the natives—Form of government and laws—Cavalry—Sale of charms—Religion of the people—Their notions of God—Human sacrifices—Prospects of Missionary labours—Polygamy—Melancholy death—The 'Wilberforce' gets aground—Fever commences.

While the Commissioners were thus occupied at Iddah, the 'Wilberforce' and 'Soudan' were actively engaged in procuring fuel on the opposite bank. In this some difficulty was at first experienced, owing to the hostile appearance of the natives, who came

out armed in various ways, and appeared to be determined not to allow the Krumen to land. It was thought necessary to beat to quarters, but Mr. Strange, first Lieutenant of the 'Wilberforce,' took the most effectual means of disarming them, by going, himself unarmed, and shaking hands with the principal men.

By means of an interpreter, Granby, who fortunately was born in a neighbouring town, he explained the motives of the visit, with which they expressed their satisfaction, by shouting and waving their hands about, which was meant as a welcome. The country is called Angwileh, and is well cultivated in yams and other vegetables.

It seems the inhabitants of this bank do not admit the authority of the Attàh of Iddah, and are frequently at war with his subjects. They are tributary to the King of Benìn, and supposing our errand was a hostile movement in behalf of their opponents, were quite ready to dispute the point "*vi et armis*."

None of the Africans we had yet seen were so savage in look and manner. All were armed with rude knives, spears, bows, and quivers full of poisoned arrows, and their resolute independent expression, shewed they were prepared to use them.

One man laid hold of an officer's gun, perhaps only to look at it, and in declining to put it into his hand, it was intimated by a sign that it might kill him, on which the negro pulled out one of his arrows, and,

by sundry gestures, gave us to understand that in his opinion, it was quite as deadly and unerring as the white man's weapon. Some of the officers went into the country, and were much pleased with its openness and beauty. The thick underwood was here replaced by a luxuriant grass, twelve and fourteen inches high, and the trees were so far apart and so well arranged, as to give it quite the character of an English park. Here and there, some nice plantations fenced in, contained cassada, yam, pompions, Indian-corn, sugar-cane, all kept clean, and in the best condition of culture.

Some of the largest turret-ant structures, *Termites mordax*, we ever met in Africa were seen here; they were cylindrical accumulations of clay, in many cases five feet high, each surmounted by a conical top, with overhanging edges, in some there were two or three of these projecting eaves, probably added to repair dilapidations in the original roof caused by tornadoes. A broken and deserted nest displayed the internal arrangements, which were seen to consist of innumerable passages, leading to oblong or oval compartments. All the entrances were from below, near the ground, and necessarily large, to admit so many inhabitants. The Krumen, who see many of these specimens of insect art in their own country, told us the smaller snakes often find their way in, and make such a hearty meal off the poor ants, that they become lethargic, and unable to crawl out again, when the occupants in return devour the unwelcome intruder. This story

appeared to be so incredible, that symptoms of doubt were expressed, which induced "Jack Smoke" to vindicate his honour by giving us occular demonstration of the truth of his assertion. He speedily knocked over a mound, and betrayed a small dark-coloured snake, which slowly moved from its lurking-place.

These structures are certainly among the most wonderful specimens of insect architecture, and teach Man how poor and limited are his inventions compared with the wisdom of that Omnipotent Being, who can endow even the tiny *Termites* with instinct to prepare a dwelling more astonishing than any human work.

Further inland, were many fine cabbage palms (*Areca oleracea*), the tender and unexpanded heads of which are so nutritious when boiled; but even uncooked, they are juicy and sweet: Also the kola or goora-nut tree, (*Sterculia acuminata*,) with rich dark leaf, its fruit enclosed in a long shining brown pod, which yields the African his favourite stomachic, and takes the place of the calumet of peace, in the black man's reception of a stranger.

The town of Wappa is about five miles from the river; the road thither is good and open. At the entrance to it, the party was obliged to halt near some lofty and spreading palms, until the chief, Egada Yaluelama, made his appearance, which he did not long delay, in expectation, doubtless, of a "dash" or present from his visitors. He was very civil, offered palm-wine

and goora-nuts, and said he would soon get articles for traffic, goats, fowls, &c., and that on the return of the vessels, wood should be ready cut.

His country seems to be populous, and he said to the interpreter, that their King Obah of Benìn could raise 10,000 fighting men. This information, perhaps, was intended to be conveyed to their opposite neighbours, and was probably over-rated.

According to the account they gave of the King of Benìn, he must be most remorseless in the observance of human sacrifices. Independently of the numbers immolated at special feasts, three are destroyed every day; one each morning, noon, and night. The great difficulty in such cases, is to arrive at the truth; the estimated number of victims varying, in all likelihood, with the caprice or love of the marvellous in the relating party. If the people had here been told we came to put down such odious proceedings, they would most certainly have said, as at Abòh and Iddah, "Oh, human sacrifices never take place in Benìn country."

The wooding was carried on actively, the Krumen making the forest echo cheerily with their good-humoured laughter, and the heavy stroke of the axe. The natives, from time to time, came down in little parties; all rather rough in manner, and still more rudely attired, having merely strips of monkey skins, or bunches of grass, to conceal a very small part of their nakedness. In their grass hats were some beautiful scarlet feathers, such as we had not seen in any bird up the

river. They were very anxious to procure tobacco, which is singular, as it grows abundantly in the Iddah plantations, though apparently so scarce here. In the long grass, on one of the slopes, some double-spurred francolins *(Chætopus Adansonii)* were seen, as also some Guinea fowl. In the neighbouring thickets, we procured the African ox-pecker *(Buphæga Africana)*; plumage smoky-brown and rufous. The rose-winged parrakeet *(Palæornis torquatus)*, of graceful form; plumage, very rich green, tail blue, a rose-coloured ring round the neck. The grey-headed parrakeet *(Psittacus Senegalensis)*; prevailing plumage green and grey, with orange beneath; the crimson nut-cracker, in its rich brown and crimson; the Senegal lark-heel, the golden oriole, the grenadier weaver, the chesnut-crowned sandfinch *(Agrophilus superciliosus)*, the yellow-bodied weaver. In the vicinity of the overflowed bank, were various prettily marked halcyons; the Senegal grey-headed king-hunter; the little rufous checked king-hunter; the black-throated wagtail *(Motacilla gularis)*, the double-collared king-fisher; and the black-bellied weaver *(Euplectes melanogaster)*, in its rich velvet black, brown and yellow.

Snakes were numerous in the dry grass; one very large black one put several of our Krumen to flight. These noxious reptiles are said to be very common all over this part of the country. They are much protected by the natives, who look on them as 'Ju-ju,' or sacred. The

venomous centipede (*Scolopendra morsitans*) was also frequently met with among decayed leaves: it has forty-two feet; the jaws are strong and horny, each furnished, like the sting of the scorpion, with a small tube and aperture, through which the poisonous fluid issues. Its bite produces violent inflammation, difficult of removal, though not often fatal. A less common, though more dangerous, insect is the African scorpion (*Scorpio Australis*). The body is brown, the legs reddish, the claws are long and filiform. Its sting causes a painful and troublesome wound, which occasionally terminates in a partial slough, or mortification.

Being Saturday evening, all the vessels anchored in the middle of the stream. We were sorry to find two cases of fever had broken out on board the 'Albert,' and two in the 'Soudan;' there were also several persons with premonitory symptoms.

3 A.M.	Ther.	78°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74°
9 A.M.	„	79°	„	„	74°,5
3 P.M.	„	83°	„	„	76°
9 P.M.	„	83°	„	„	78°

Monday, Sept. 6th.—After a quiet Sabbath, spent, we trust, in devotion and thankfulness, for having been permitted to come thus far in safety—though with anxiety for the future—we resumed our operations. The 'Albert,' with the Commissioners, returned to the anchorage at Iddah, to finish the diplomatic affairs; while the 'Wilberforce,' went to the opposite bank to complete the wooding.

As we had come to a climate, which Almighty wisdom had adapted to constitutions so different to our own, we were, of course, aware that we courted danger, and could not expect to pass harmless, where it had proved so fatal to others. The symptoms of the effect of this deadly climate, which had warned us on Saturday, were this day confirmed by the addition of three cases of fever in the 'Albert.' In the 'Wilberforce,' several men were complaining, and unfit for duty. In the little 'Soudan,' Mr. Ellis, the first lieutenant, and Mr. Marshall, surgeon, were added to the list.

Lobo, the chief judge, whose gentlemanly appearance we had so much noticed "at court," came to breakfast on board the 'Albert,' by invitation. His dress, though not so gay as on Saturday, was still handsome, and perhaps much more costly, especially his inner garment, a white cotton tobe, which was covered all over with passages from the Koran, neatly written and tastefully arranged by Mahomedan priests, or 'Mallams,' for which they are well paid. Another tobe was of crimson silk, quilted. Okien, also, the son and successor of our late worthy friend, Abokko, came on board to say 'Gaï sheka!' 'Good morning.' He seemed very well disposed to profit by the friendly recollections professed for his good old father, whose death was sincerely regretted. Okien was on his way to Kiri market. Both Lobo and he, said that this market belongs to the Attàh, and that his word there is law. The canoe had thirty-two

paddles, and sixteen passengers; whether the latter were free or slaves, could not be ascertained.

Preparations were made by the Commissioners for going on shore, to conclude the Treaty in due form and solemnity. Commander W. Allen, being very unwell, did not accompany them, but signed it on board. Captains Trotter and Bird Allen, with Mr. Cook, went attended by several officers. It was late before they reached the shore.

The Commissioners then had a final interview with the Attàh, who, in his anxiety to see the presents, did not keep them waiting, as on the former occasion, but was, in fact, ready to give immediate audience. He was very affable, agreed to all the articles of a Treaty, similar to that entered into by Obi Osaï, of Abòh, containing also a special clause against the continuance of human sacrifices in the Eggarah country; and a cession of such land as the Commissioners might desire at a reasonable price, for the establishment of a model farm, or other settlements. He likewise guaranteed the safe conveyance of letters and messengers through his dominions, by land or water, and to give them every assistance.

Hakah, the second judge; Mallam Sabah, or, abbreviated, Ma'Sabah, and the Attàh's private secretary, Bajè, were ordered to accompany the Commissioners, to act as agents in the sale and transfer of the required territory:—the terms on which the arrangements were

to be concluded, having been again explained to the Attàh.

The Treaties were then read over, and signed, in triplicate, by the Commissioners, and by Lobo, the chief judge, on the part of the Attàh, it being contrary to custom for the latter to write.

The signatures to the Treaty were witnessed and attested by Hakah, the second judge, and Gibberin, a 'Mallam,' and several officers of the 'Albert.' Not one of the Attàh's people could write his own name; so the usual cross-mark was substituted. The etiquette of the country, probably, saved the Attàh also from an exposure of his ignorance.

The Mallams are the most enlightened persons, but few even of them can write, and although they pretend to read some scraps of the Koran from Arabic manuscripts, these have generally been acquired by rote. An Arabic Bible, which had been presented to the Attàh, was handed to the head Mallam, who, in virtue of his office, was supposed to be learned. He accordingly looked through it with becoming gravity, but unfortunately for his credit, with us at least, he held it upside down.

The following presents were then laid before the Attàh:—

One double-barrelled gun.
One pair of ornamented pistols.
One gilt sabre.
One case with scissors, razor and knife.

Twelve hatchets.
Two hand-saws.
Twelve hoes.
One silk velvet tobe.
One velvet cap.
One pair silk trowsers.
One silk waistcoat.
Ten yards of crimson silk.
Ten yards of Merino.
Five yards of scarlet cloth.
Five yards of blue cloth.
Two pieces of printed cotton.
Four strings of beads.
Two cut garnet necklaces.
Two pair of bracelets.
Two bangles.
One piece of shirting.
One piece of Madapollan.
One printed muslin tobe.
One piece of baft.
One pair of boots.
One pair of slippers.
One large looking-glass.
Twelve small looking-glasses.
One elephant gun.
One drum.
One tambourine.
One large silk umbrella.
One piece of Turkey red twill.

Two pieces of handkerchiefs.
One telescope.
Twelve padlocks.
Two lamps.
Twelve snuff-boxes.
Twelve coronation medals.
Twelve nuptial medals.
One piece of muslin, gold and mull.
Five ounces of real coral.
One quire of writing paper.
Twelve spectacles.
Two pair of ear-rings.
One oil press.

The judges and other principal men, were also presented with some European articles, with which they were quite delighted. But the Attàh affecting magnanimity, expressed some dissatisfaction and indifference about them, although by the manner he examined the double-barrelled gun, and the green silk velvet tobe, &c., it was evident he was inwardly rejoicing over gifts which he could scarcely purchase with half his kingdom. Having received a promise that the Treaty should be immediately promulgated throughout the Eggarah country, and given an intimation to the Attàh, that the white men in all the ships would ask for a blessing on the him and his people, the Commissioners left the palace of Ochejih.

The populace testified their approbation, by shoutings

and clapping of hands, and numbers accompanied them down to the place of embarkation.

Two of the officers, who had forgotten some papers at the Attàh's palace, went back, and unexpectedly entering an apartment where the potentate and his headmen were assembled, found him divested of all his insignia of office, reduced to an ordinary size by the removal of the cotton paddings, &c., and with nothing but a country cloth round his waist. He and his attendants were all eagerly examining the presents, and laughing immoderately, but dispensing with the offices of fan-bearers, who were no longer required to screen the august features from the vulgar gaze. So much for the Attàh of Eggarah.

The city of Iddah, the largest and the most important town in the kingdom of Eggarah, is built on the summit of the cliff, which rises nearly two hundred feet above the river. It extends in a direction nearly north and south; towards the latter point, it again sinks into a low, somewhat undulating, country. The land on the north side also slopes downwards, but again rises into a hill of greater altitude than that of Iddah. There are, on a rough computation, about two thousand huts, with a probable population of eight to nine thousand. On all sides are plantations kept in nice order, and containing Indian corn *(Sorghum rubens)*, sugar-cane *(Arundo saccharum)*, calabash pumpion *(Fueillea trilobata)*, ground nuts *(Arachis hypogea)*, bird pepper

(*Capsicum frutescans*), okra (*Hibiscus esculentis*), the unripe pods of which contain reddish, well flavoured seeds, and are often used in soups, which they improve very much, by affording a nutritious gelatinous matter; African yam (*Dioscoria alata*) ; *Tephrosia Toxicaria*, a leguminous plant, producing a fine indigo; and tobacco in abundance.

Iddah is divided into a great many villages or districts, each under the governance of a chief, who is responsible to the Attàh. The palace of the latter is situated in the most secure place, being naturally protected towards the river by the abrupt and precipitous cliffs, while, on the other sides, are the surrounding villages, as well as an intermediate thick mud wall, which encloses it perfectly. It is, moreover, guarded by a militia, armed with spears, a few muskets, and swords, some of them not unlike those of ancient Rome. In time of war these men have specially to defend the Attàh.

Nearly all the dwellings at Iddah are circular, the walls rise about six feet and are built of clay and small stones intermixed. The roof is conical, made of palm-leaves and a thick *Cyperaceous* plant, somewhat resembling that from which the Egyptian papyrus was manufactured. It is sometimes supported in the centre by a wooden pillar, often rudely decorated with red and yellow clay. The overhanging edge of the roof protects from sun and rain the clay seats which surround the hut where the family usually sit, it rests on a number of posts, some curiously carved, and forms a low verandah.

When there is a door, it is carved in an elaborate manner, with a rude sketch of an alligator or some other animal; the fastening is a bolt and a rough padlock, these are, however, seldom required. The furniture and utensils are few, and generally lying about the court, such as large earthenware jars for water, which being spherical, have not the wherewithal to stand alone, and are therefore placed on rings of grass, and by which they are also supported on the heads of the female water-bearers when taken to the river side to be replenished; the cooking apparatus are small calabashes and earthern pots of various form. The machine used for pounding the red wood and other dyes, resemble very much the mills found at Pompeii, except that they are wood instead of stone; and being hollow, they are occasionally employed as adjuncts to the native musical bands, instead of drums.

On the roofs of most of the dwellings, the griffon or fulvous vulture takes up his quarters, patiently watching for any offal which may be thrown out, and which he soon appropriates. The goats, sheep and fowls, seem to have here as undisputed a right to the premises generally, as Paddy's unclean pigs in our sisterland.

The huts of the higher persons, as Mallams, chiefs, or judges, are painted blue or white outside, and have occasionally a small space in front paved with pieces of granite, or even shells. The sleeping-places are simply raised banks of clay, having mats and some dry grass spread over them; the low wooden-seats sometimes met with

were articles of particular luxury. Everything inside the building is kept remarkably clean and dry. In the economy of their dwellings, the higher classes observe the same protective system as the Attàh, having the huts of subordinates and slaves, and often a clay wall, surrounding them, so that in the event of an attack, their persons or houses are less exposed.

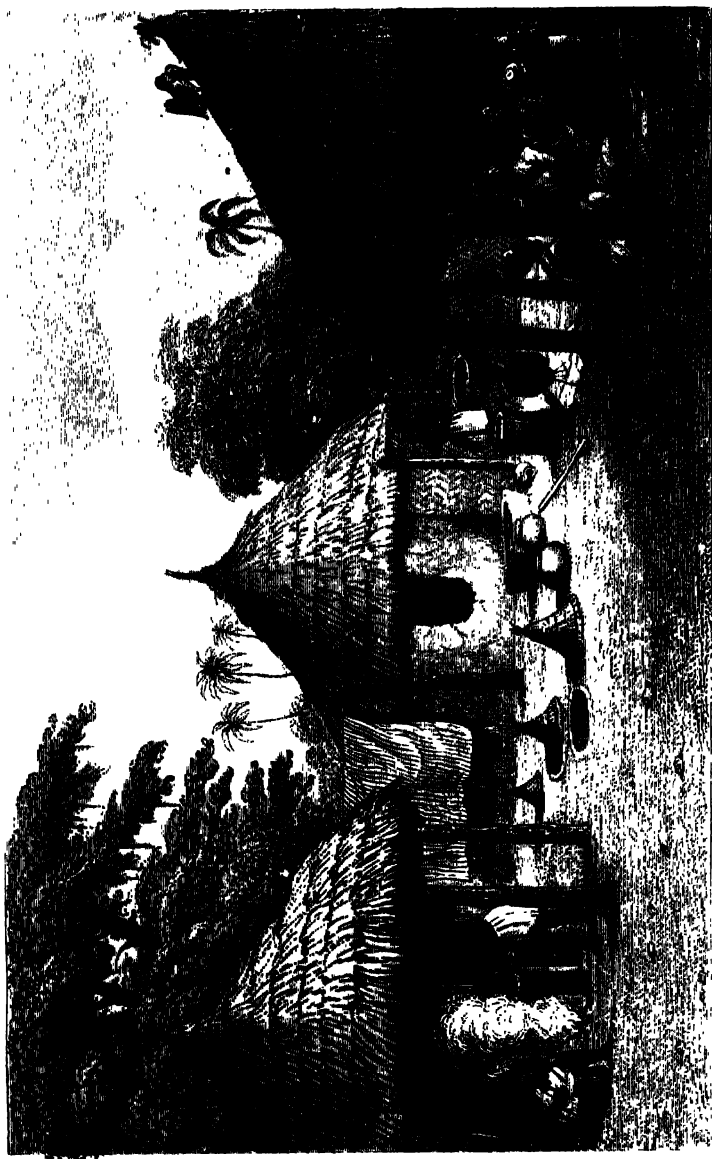
The streets are very irregular and numerous; the principal market is held in the Attàh's or northern division, on a clear level space, shaded by numerous trees. It is arranged according to the directions of the chiefs, all articles being properly classed and exposed for sale on the ground, or on mats. There was a great variety of vegetables, yams, ground-nuts, palm-nuts, cassada, kola-nuts, plantains, Indian-corn, sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, rice, shea butter, calabash pumpions; various native manufactures of cotton, for tobes and body clothes; red and blue cotton and grass threads, raw cotton of very short staple; native made swords, knives, spears, and little calabashes of dye powders, *tephrosia*, *oxides* of iron and camwood, as also brass and ivory ornaments for the body, and pipes of clay, or iron very neatly made.

Cowries *(Cyprea moneta)* are the only medium of circulation; but much of the business is done by bartering such articles as each may require. When the value of anything is below that of a cowry, they substitute as an equivalent four or five ground-nuts,

Everything is conducted with the greatest order, and with less noise than one usually expects in an African market. All cases of dispute are brought before the proper judges. As we walked through the place, we were quietly and respectfully saluted, on all sides, with the usual 'Sinùh, God protect you,' or 'Prosperity;' and they seemed well pleased to have white men among them, showing their various articles for sale with much good nature and politeness, not pressing them on a purchaser, as is too commonly the case in our own markets.

The Attàh levies a small tax on all the productions brought thither for sale. As but few European articles find their way up here under present circumstances, the natives are obliged to depend very much on their own industry and ingenuity for nearly all they require, except gunpowder and muskets, both of which are eagerly sought after, and bring high prices.

The most common manufacture is that of cotton cloths, practised by a great number of females. In spinning, the primitive distaff is used, such as is usually seen in Italy, or in some of our own mountain districts, where the spinning wheel is not always obtainable. The thread is rough and uneven, but when carefully woven into *narrow* stripes by a rude machine—very like the earliest of our hand-looms—it forms a strong and durable cloth, much dearer than the English cottons brought there, and of course only within reach of wealthy people. The dye-pits are very numerous all over the town, and are kept constantly more or less filled, as



they believe the older the dye-liquid, the stronger the effect on the cloth. The *tephrosia* which is used for the blue, is moistened, made up into little balls, then dried, and thus exposed for sale; the red dye is probably a species of *tesphesia* or camwood, it is mostly in a powder. The cloth is kept saturated in the pit for a fortnight, and sometimes three weeks, and certainly the colours are most beautiful; but as they have not the aid of chemistry to supply a proper mordant, they are not permanent. A white tobe is usually worn under a newly dyed blue one, and it soon becomes charged with colour.

The next most important occupation, is that of smith and armourer. They are said not to have any method of smelting iron, the ore of which is very abundant, but depend entirely on the supply from the coast, as also such few working tools as are possessed. Their native implements are rude, yet the swords, spear-heads, arrows, are well tempered and not badly finished. The bellows are merely two wooden cylinders, each with a piston, and a piece of loose hide securely fastened round the handle and the top of the tube; by alternately depressing one and raising the other, a continuous current of air is conveyed through earthern pipes leading to the fire. Many of the swords we saw were of admirable metal, nicely engraved, and a few inlaid with portions of deeper coloured or more highly oxydized iron. Charcoal, in small square pieces, is burned instead of common fuel, and to this may,

perhaps, be attributed the fine temper of the manufactures.

The preparation of leather is another useful branch of industry; the tree from which they procure the requisite tannin is liguminous, and we believe it to be the *Pterocarpus Senegalensis.* Sheep-skins and goat-skins are mostly turned to account this way, and when cut up into stripes, are neatly plaited into bridles, necklaces, armlets, belts, whips, fly-fans and cushions; the hides of larger animals being tanned for the soles of the sandals worn by the richer persons.

Fishing is followed chiefly by slaves—they use nets made of the twisted fibres of the plantain leaf, and either stake off certain parts of shallow water, or employ large circular nets, which they suspend over the banks, and let down and draw up every few minutes, throwing in a bait to entice the fish to approach, and sometimes a vegetable poison which soon kills the fish.

It must be admitted, from all we saw, that the Eggarah people are industrious, and evidently more advanced in civilization than their neighbours, lower down the river. Their grounds are much better cultivated, manufactures more encouraged, and their social comforts increasing. How far these may be connected with, or influenced by, the superior knowledge of the Mallams or Mahommedan priests, we know not. If such be the case, how much encouragement for the promotion among them of Christianity, with all its attendant blessings!

The well-known effects of locality on the development of the human body, receives also a confirmation in the inhabitants of Iddah, where the greater altitude of the district, and its superior dryness, operate in their favour. The people are generally well made, and of the middling stature—indeed, the flowing and ample tobe gave many an appearance of height somewhat above that. The features are more softened and rounded than the Ibus. The lips protrude, but are less thick, the forehead ample, though retreating. Altogether they have a look of superior intelligence.

Here, as at Abòh, the natives assured us the rainy season was the most healthy, that when the water began to decline, there was always much sickness even among them—that small-pox then raged very often with dreadful violence, and when once it commenced, it never ceased without an immense mortality. This, we trust, will now be gradually limited by the introduction of the vaccine. Craw-craw, or African psora, is always common among the poor and dirty. Their fevers, although active in character, are not very often fatal.

The Government of the Eggarah country is monarchical, and vested in the Attàh or King of Iddah, the succession is hereditary in the female line, the eldest son of the sister; thus, it is said, Ochejih, the present Attàh, succeeded, taking precedence of the many children of the former King. Under certain circumstances, which we could not ascertain, the sovereign has the right of

nominating a successor. The above mode of succession through a sister's son, is exactly the same as obtains among the Ashantis, and is one of the many strange coincidences observable in the social policy of some others of the West African tribes.

The Attàh's power is said to be arbitrary, but still kept within bounds by the influence of the headmen, and by the dread of being quietly removed by secret poison.

All important subjects are discussed in an assembly of the judges, Mallams and headmen, the Attàh presiding. Minor disputes or offences are settled or punished by the judges, of whom there are several. Lobo, the Ogboëh or first judge, and Hakah Saïje, second, being also commanders of the forces in time of war. In answer to many inquiries, it could not be elicited that the Eggarahs make inroads on other states for the purpose of taking slaves. They depend more on defensive than offensive warfare, but all captives are retained, or sold as slaves. With the exception of Mallams or priests, every able-bodied man is liable to be called out in seasons of difficulty, and enrolled in divisions having appropriate officers. They are armed with spears, and swords, as also bows with poisoned arrows, but the musket is much preferred to the latter. They have a limited number of cavalry, mounted on the small, thin, though powerful horses which are chiefly brought from above the confluence, or from the hill

country to the eastward. Unlike the Ibu people, they pay little attention to the arming of canoes, their general employment being more on land than on water. Mazamba, a Mallam, officiates as minister of war.

The whole of the religious power is confided to the Mallams or priests, who are all unlettered Mahommedans, but who have had the advantage of travelling in other parts of Africa, where, in addition to a few sentences of the Koran, and an imperfect knowledge of the great Prophet's doctrines, they have picked up a good idea of business, which they combine with the duties of their office.

They also monopolize the medical branch, in which they are as ignorant as their more sacred one. Another of their most lucrative sources is the sale of amulets, or charms against the visitation of sickness and the agency of evil spirits; they are made up of any written paper which may come in their way, and usually enclosed in neatly plaited strips of leather to be suspended from the neck.

A certain Israelitish operation—performed by the Mallams,—is here generally, but not universally adopted; this, with a rude and painful method of scarifying and cupping is the only attempt made at surgery.

The Mallams were initiated by Dr. McWilliam and the other medical officers, into the practice of vaccination, and as it would add to their importance and

emolument, it may probably become general, and prove at least one beneficial result of the Expedition.

The greater proportion of the Iddah people are Pagans, though with a confused impression of Mahomedanism, which obtains more among the richer persons, who can afford to pay the Mallams for such limited instruction as they can convey orally. No public idols are allowed, yet most of them have little amulets, which hold much the same place in their estimation as the wooden Fetiches of the Ibus and other tribes.

They have all a clearer notion of God as an Almighty Ruler and Divinity, than any negroes we had met with, and offer up their prayers direct to Him, but they believe in the intermediate agency of good and evil spirits, charms, and Mallam influence. They look forward to a heaven and hell, or places where good or wicked people are hereafter to inhabit; this is most likely derived from the extraordinary views their religious preceptors hold up to them of the Islam scale of rewards and punishments.

Human sacrifices always take place on the death of the King; on which occasion, one or more wives, and several eunuchs of his establishment, are killed, to accompany the great man in the new world he has entered upon. Every sovereign, on coming to the throne, does this also, to exemplify the control which his position gives him over the lives of his people. The natives do not regard the subject with horror or

antipathy. Amada Bue, the Attàh's sister, even said she would like to be sacrificed to attend her husband.

The conferences which took place with the authorities during our stay here, shewed an evident wish on the part of the people for the establishment of white settlers, and Christian teachers. Attached though they be, so strongly to their own customs and religion, they cannot help seeing, that Europeans, of even the lowest caste—and such as they more commonly have a knowledge of from their connexion with the Slave Trade, are their superiors in those points most coveted by the carnal heart—power and wealth; and it is probable, that if the climate admitted the possibility of white men settling there, the natives would soon adopt their suggestions for the improvement of agriculture and trade. We must not, however, presume, from the advance Mahomedanism has there made, that the Christian religion would also be as readily engrafted. On the contrary, we must candidly confess our fears, that this partial success of the great Impostor's disciples, may be one of the greatest obstacles to any missionary attempt, whenever, or by whomsoever made; particularly as it meets the sensual taste, and long-established custom of keeping large harems.

Polygamy is permitted, but the first wife is the principal, and arranges the affairs of the harem. The usual number of wives is three, but the Attàh has a much greater establishment. There are no restrictions on the women, as in most other Mahomedan countries; all are

allowed to be looked at, and to walk about with unveiled faces. The principal attendants about the Attàh's residence are eunuchs: they are numerous, and are much confided in by their despotic master.

This afternoon, a beautiful specimen of antelope passed the vessel, swimming down the stream: it had probably been on some overflowed bank, and carried off by the late freshes. Some of the 'Albert's' boats pushed off soon after, in apparent haste, and it was supposed in the other vessels that they had gone to pick it up; but we found, on returning from an unavailing search, that Johnson, one of the 'Albert's' crew, a native of Iddah, who was so useful as an interpreter in the late negociations, had fallen over-board. He was said to have been slightly intoxicated; and, to render the matter more painful, there were several canoes alongside the ship when the accident occurred, and they could with ease have saved him; but not one of his hard-hearted countrymen put forth a helping hand, or offered the least assistance.

The unfortunate man had been taken away as a slave many years previously, and having been recaptured, and brought to Sierra Leone, he was educated, and had even been advanced to the situation of catechist. After a very long absence from his native place, he returned to find a relative on the throne of Iddah, and all seemed to promise well for future residence among his countrymen, when he was thus suddenly cut off.

In the meantime, the 'Wilberforce,' in coming over

from the opposite shore, where she had been for a supply of wood, unfortunately got aground on the upper point of an island, against which the current ran so strong, that it was found impossible to get her off immediately; the 'Albert' having carried away a couple of hawsers in making the attempt. To add to the difficulty of our position, fever was decidedly spreading. Rabbling, a sapper, and Lucas, boatswain's mate, a very active and powerful man, have both been suddenly prostrated; many more are complaining of incipient symptoms, and in all the other vessels, several persons already attacked, are in a dangerous condition.

3 A.M.	Ther.	79°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74°
9 A.M.	„	80°	„	„	76°
3 P.M.	„	81°	„	„	75°
9 P.M.	„	80°	„	„	76°

7th.—We were employed all day, endeavouring to heave the 'Wilberforce' off, but without effect. The 'Albert' tried to do it with steam; but, having been again unsuccessful, we laid the stream anchor out and commenced lightening the vessel as much as possible.

Captain Bird Allen went to the King to make some explanations, which afforded an opportunity for further demands for his headmen.

The number of cases of fever in all the vessels has increased. This evening, one of the 'Albert's' stokers, John Peglar, expired after a short illness, having only been seized with the fatal fever on the 4th.

3 A.M.	Ther.	78^0	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74^0
9 A.M.	„	80^0	„	„	75^0
3 P.M.	„	84^0	„	„	76^0
9 P.M.	„	75^0	„	„	73^0

8th.—Heavy rain in the night. At daylight, renewed our exertions. Brought all the weights from the fore-hold to the quarter-deck. A bower anchor was laid well out on the port bow, which we had difficulty in doing; and, by the additional purchase of a runner and tackle on it, we succeeded in heaving off. Until we had this anchor out, all our trouble in lightening was of no use, as the strong current forced the fore part of the vessel higher on the island. Employed clearing the ship, and restowing the fore-hold. We got under weigh in the evening, but only proceeded sufficiently far, to be out of the influence of the noxious exhalations. The river rose very fast, and nearly all the end of the island on which we grounded, was under water. The few huts on the spot were rendered uninhabitable, their foundations sapped, and some thrown down by the flood.

Among the reeds, which yet appeared on parts of English Island, a very beautiful and new species of Sultana, or water-hen, was procured—the *Porphyrio Allenii*, since figured in D. W. Mitchell's splendid work on Ornithology. The prevailing colours of this bird were rich dark green above, softening off into violet; the upper part of head, deep violet, breast blue, and vent, white. The plumage of the young bird is brown,



with a black, well-marked arrow down the breast. It has a very singular appearance.

In the evening, the effluvium from the stagnant water and decayed vegetable matter, was extremely offensive. This, therefore, joined to exposure to the sun in heaving the vessel off the bank, was probably an exciting cause of some of our first fevers. We had six men in the sick-list, the 'Albert' many more; the cases as yet, however, appeared to be slight. Commander W. Allen was unwell, caused doubtless by fatigue and exposure.

3 A.M.	Ther.	78°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	75°
9 A.M.	„	78°	„	„	75°
3 P.M.	„	84°	„	„	77°
9 P.M.	„	77°	„	„	74°

9th.—On leaving Iddah, we went over to the Angwileh side, to land Granby, who, having been informed, that his mother was living in a village at a short distance, requested permission to go and see her. We therefore paid him his wages in goods, gave him a present for the chief, and told him, if he wished to return to the white men, he would be received at the model farm, about to be established at the confluence.*

We grounded once, and encountered the tail of a squall, which seemed to rage heavily among the hills. Anchored for a short time to trim ship, as she would not steer in shallow water, being too much by the stern.

* He never made his appearance there.

We then proceeded up the river. The scenery was beautiful in the extreme; the Kong mountains right ahead, and the banks on either side finely wooded. Passed Kiri market, and saw several canoes going down the river, with slaves and small horses. Kiri Island looked like a magnificent park, and the grass, at a little distance, resembled a well-cropped lawn, the tops being level, but the grass was at least ten feet high, growing in a deceitful swamp.

Several large crocodiles have been passed to-day; some on the banks, and others in the water, looking very much like a part of a tree, as they move slowly with the stream near the surface.

The channel is here very rocky.

3 A.M.	Ther.	79°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	75°
9 A.M.	„	79°	„	„	75°
3 P.M.	„	76°	„	„	73°
9 P.M.	„	76°	„	„	73°

10*th.*—On arriving at Bàrraga, or Beaufort Island, in order to prove its doubted insularity, we entered the channel which separates it from the main bank. On both sides, the land is well cultivated, and on the slope of Mount Etse (Soracte), advantage has been taken of small spaces of good soil among the rocks. The population appears great, and is of the Kakanda nation. We found the channel very winding, and several small rivers as tributaries. The island has a ridge of rocks running through it, terminating in a hill—an excellent site for a

fort.* All the other parts are now covered with water. Anchored for a short time in the channel, and sent a boat on shore with the master and second master, to take astronomical observations on Dagorra (the little Terrys), one of several rocky islets at the north end of Bàrraga, where we afterwards ascertained one of the 'Soudan's' men had been buried. Their operations over, and being in the act of stowing away the instruments, they observed a large black snake, coiled up between the legs of the theodolite. They were, as may be supposed, rather startled; but, after gazing at them coolly for some time, the reptile slowly unbent his coils, and gliding away, left them unharmed.

* Bàrraga, or Beaufort Island, is of granite, much decomposed on the surface, which is rough from the projection of felspar crystals. This granite contains little mica, and is composed of felspar and quartz, with a small quantity of hornblende. The blocks are piled one upon another, like masonry, and the soil between them is a rich loam. At Okaji, the granite is large, crystalline, and contains very beautiful opalescent felspar.—*Dr. Stanger's Geol. Report.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Mount Franklin—Villages—Nearly all the officers of the 'Soudan' laid up with sickness—Adda Kuddu in ruins—English doctors appreciated by the natives—Kakanda people—Amèh Abokko, the Annajah, or Governor, visits the ships—Deaths of some of the crews from fever—Insupportable heat and closeness of the atmosphere—Visits from snakes—How accounted for—Drs. Stanger and Vogel ascend Mount Pattèh—Stirling Hill selected as the best locality for the Model Farm—First instalment of purchase money paid to the Attàh of Eggarah—Model Farm utensils and furniture landed—Malam Sabah—Towns on the banks of the Chaddah—Mr. W. H. Webb left in charge of the 'Amelia' tender and Model Farm—Fever progressing at an alarming rate in all the vessels—Death of Mr. Nightingale—Mortality in the vessels—Weakly condition of the crews generally—Captain Trotter decides on sending the sick to the sea-side in the 'Soudan'—Meeting of the Commissioners—The sick received on board the 'Soudan'—Increase of the fever on board the 'Wilberforce.'

10th.—At 12.30 we weighed, and proceeded up the river. The 'Albert,' towing the schooner, and the 'Soudan' were a-head; we saw mountains in the distance, the native name of Mount Franklin is Apotto,

passed two or three villages on each side of the river, and saw one on the brow of a small hill on the right bank surrounded with tilled ground. The Indian corn is said to be here well cultivated.

The 'Soudan' stopped a short time to procure wood at another village on the left bank, most picturesquely situated on the side of a steep hill. It was found to be inhabited by about six hundred Kakanda people, who had been driven away from a settlement on the other side; they were at first rather distrustful, but this soon wore off, and they were anxious to be friendly with the "white men."

In the afternoon, the 'Wilberforce' took the 'Soudan' in tow; the fever was making fearful progress in the latter, Mr. Ellis, the first lieutenant, Mr. Marshall, the surgeon, and many of the crew having been attacked by it in its worst form; heat, dryness of the skin, and almost incessant vomiting being the most prominent symptoms. Mr. Thomson, the senior assistant, was sent from the 'Wilberforce' to take charge of the sick. Being unable to reach Adda Kuddu before dark, we came to an anchor about 7 P.M., four miles below it: the banks are high and rocky on both sides, and at that town the width of the river is 2,030 yards by micrometic angle. We had frequent lightning, and the weather was very warm.

3 A.M.	Ther. 78°	Wet bulb	Mason's hygr.	74°
9 A.M.	79°	„	„	75°

3 P.M. Ther. 84° Wet bulb Mason's hygr. 75°
9 P.M. 81°.5 „ „ 79°

11*th*.—We weighed at daylight, and soon arrived off the old town of Adda Kuddu, which had been proposed as an eligible situation for our settlement. We found there many ruins, indicating the site of this once-thriving place, and the industry of its late inhabitants, especially numerous large dye pits, but so rapidly does luxuriant nature in these climes throw a mantle of vegetation over the deserted scenes of the labours of man, that it was with difficulty we made our way through a place where lately nothing but busy feet and merry voices had been.

Captain Trotter and Commander B. Allen went on shore, accompanied by the geologists, botanist, and Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the Model Farm—Commander W. Allen being too unwell to join them. On examination, we were disappointed at finding that the soil was unfavourable for the growth of cotton.*

The 'Soudan' was detached across the river to communicate with a town on the left bank, inhabited by the persons who had been driven away from Adda

* At Adda Kuddu, the granite is mixed up and complicated with gneiss, which generally dips at an angle of 60° to the southward. The granite forms veins, running into gneiss in all directions, and, in some places, the granite contains imbedded masses of gneiss.—*Dr. Stanger's Geol. Report.*

Kuddu by the Filatahs. Some officers landed, and were much pleased, not only with the dense forest scenery—among which the umbrageous *Baobob*, with its pendant fruit, was conspicuous—but also with the frank and joyous reception of the inhabitants. In this, their new locality—where they hoped the intervening stream would protect them from their relentless persecutors—they had already raised comfortable dwellings, and were engaged in different native manufactures. Several looms were here in busy ply on narrow cloths of blue and white cotton, the dye of the former produced by a fine description of *Tephrosia*, which grows abundantly in most places. Palm-oil, palm-nuts, goora-nuts, shea butter, tobacco, rice in small grass bags, fowls, broad-brimmed hats, &c., were exposed for sale in a sort of market-place.

It had been arranged that one of the medical officers should remain at the Model Farm, and on its being explained by the interpreter, that a white doctor, or "Sàliki'n Màgoni," would be near them, they all clapped their hands in apparent gladness, and it was soon known all over the little community.

Perhaps in no part of the world are English medical men in higher estimation than in Africa, where they are not only looked on as the healers of infirmities, but are supposed to be invested with miraculous knowledge, and powers of good or evil, surpassing even the native Ju-ju, or Fetiche men. Most of the people pressed forward, shaking hands in their own fashion, and offering

little presents, expressive of their kindly feelings. There were from twelve to fifteen hundred persons. The chief of this place, who was also the Annajah, or Governor of the district about to be ceded, was taken on board; he looked highly pleased, but rather nervous, especially when on the point of starting, several of his people, who seemed to treat him with great respect, came down to the bank and begged him not to embark.

While the negociations were going forward, Commander W. Allen found out that the Annajah—named Amèh Abokko—was brother to his old friend, Abokko, whom he much resembles. Though not so tall as his truly noble brother, he is a fine, dignified old man; he said he remembered Commander W. Allen, and expressed much satisfaction at seeing him again, always taking him by the hand when he came near, and calling him Avoiki'n Abokko, that is, "the friend of Abokko." He entered very readily into our views, and said, of his own accord, "It is true what you say, that the Slave Trade is contrary to the will of God."

Having ascertained that the land in the neighbourhood of Adda Kuddu was not suitable for the culture of cotton, we weighed and went up to examine the vicinity of Stirling Hill, where the 'Alburkah' had been so long at anchor in the year 1832-3. From all our inquiries, we learned that one of the parties concerned in the territory about to be purchased, was Mandaïki, or the chief of the mountain which rises at the back, and is called by

the Nufi people, Pattèh, and Lukosa by those of Kakanda. We found the temperature of the Niger at this place 85°; much lower down, where it is mixed with the water of the Chadda, it was but 83°, showing that the latter is cooler, owing probably to having its rise in higher mountains than the Niger.

We had the first proof to-day, in the 'Wilberforce' of the fatal effect of the fever, which has unhappily commenced its ravages, in the death of James Kneebone, a young seaman who was taken ill on the 4th; other cases were assuming an unfavourable appearance. Lieutenant Ellis and Mr. Marshall, of the 'Soudan,' were dangerously ill. Commander W. Allen was also unwell and fatigued in the evening.

3 A.M.	Ther. 78°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74°
9 A.M.	79°	,,	,,	75°
3 P.M.	86°	,,	,,	77°
9 P.M.	81°,5	,,	,,	77°

Sunday, 12th Sept.—We were truly glad of a day of rest; our divine service had, however, some very melancholy attendant circumstances, the corpse of the poor fellow who died yesterday was lying close to us, and during the whole of the service we had the noise of the workmen preparing the coffin, but this was unavoidable, as decomposition was rapidly going on. We buried him in the evening, near the spot where Commander W. Allen, on the former visit to this place, had laid some of his companions.

It was a trying day to the sick of all the vessels. A fiercely burning sun, the air close and sultry, with the thermometer 90° at noon in the shade, and scarcely below 85° even at night, raised the fever to its height; and it seemed with several, that without continued artificial ventilation by fans, and frequent cold spongings, they would have expired under the oppression of breathing and heat of skin. Many of those not yet entered on the sick-list were evidently beginning to feel weak and apprehensive.

In addition to the enervating fever, we seem to be threatened with another and more singular visitation, not less dreaded by the seamen. For the last two nights, the little tenement on the starboard sponson—which having been comfortably fitted up by Lieutenant Strange for some of the blacks, went by the name of Kru Town—had been disturbed by unwelcome intruders in the shape of snakes, which were now abundant in the waters, being driven off the high grasses on the inundated islands. The fear of these—as some were said to be venemous—was certainly one of the horrors, and in all the vessels several were killed at night, having either twisted themselves up by the cable, or by the paddle-wheels. While we lay aground at English Island, they were seen frequently coiled round the tops of the reeds which appeared above water, and one of the officers of the 'Amelia' tender, absolutely practised with a pistol at a bunch of these reptiles, collected in that way near the

vessel. On questioning a native on the subject, he gave a very satisfactory explanation. During the dry season, when the river is low, much of the land, now overflowed, is quite exposed and connected with the banks, and the grass soon springs up luxuriantly, affording a sunny and open resort for the numerous insects; snakes then come out of the surrounding woods of these localities, and when the water rises, cutting off large patches, like islands, communication is prevented with the banks. As the river gets still higher, they are obliged to take refuge on the reeds, and when these are submerged, they swim off, attaching themselves to the first object they meet in their course which may afford a refuge; in this way several must have accidently come in contact with the vessels in the stream. Whenever a noise was heard in "Kru Town," the people used to say, "Another snake come." One of a very venemous character was killed on board the 'Soudan.'

Dr. Stanger, the geologist, and Dr. Vogel, the botanist, went to the top of the mountain, Pattèh, which they found perfectly level, with many villages and much cultivation; the grass was different from that on the banks of the river, being short and fine, and well suited for pasturage. Dr. Vogel says that the greater part of the indigenous fruits of Africa are to be met with on the summit of this mountain. Those gentlemen appeared to have suffered much from the heat and fatigue of the ascent, though the mountain is not more than one thousand two hundred feet high,

as determined by them with the barometer; this agreed very nearly with Allen's trigonometrical measurement of the former Expedition: he was then very desirous, during the long period passed at the foot of this mountain, to ascend it, and made several attempts on a pony, which want of strength always obliged him to abandon. The inhabitants of this district are of the Kakanda nation, and they wage continual war with the natives of the plains, for the purpose of making slaves, a specimen of which was witnessed in 1833. From this locality, a magnificent view presents itself of both the Niger and Chadda, their tortuous course abruptly merging into one broad and bright expanse of water at the confluence, while the distance was bounded on all sides by mountains.

On this elevation, the Kakanda people have two small towns, and also a village at the base of the northern side of the mountain, which is there somewhat precipitous. The inhabitants of this romantic situation, form a little state, totally independent of the neighbouring tribes. Their great enemies, the Filatahs, however, keep them in a continual state of apprehension and uncertainty; scarcely a year passes without a predatory visit, but such is the attachment of the natives to their mountain home, that they cannot be persuaded to leave it permanently, and although sometimes obliged to make a temporary migration, they invariably return.

They are mostly small, well-made, active men, the

hands and feet not large, the features regular and pleasing, and their manners particularly mild and agreeable. The eyelids of the women and children are coloured with antimony, which gives a look of softness. The faces of this tribe are generally marked with elliptical incisions, extending from the temples to the chin. In saluting a stranger, they stoop almost to the earth, throwing dust on their foreheads several times; the females in this humiliating practice, sprinkle the dust on the breast. The men all wore clean white tobes, nicely worked over the chest and sleeves, with red and blue devices, and were generally armed with daggers, knives, and a broad two-edged sword, or bow and arrows. The women had the usual cotton body-cloth, but their innate modesty and gentleness, made them appear very prepossessing.

Notwithstanding the poverty of the soil, mostly ferruginous earth, they contrive to cultivate Indian-corn, yams, and rice abundantly. This latter was brought on board in small grass bags, containing from three quarters of a pound to two pounds, and was sold at a very low price, in cowries or articles of exchange, certainly not more than one half-penny the pound. They also brought dried buffalo's flesh, fish, shea butter, tobacco of a mild flavour in large flat rolls, and which they called *Taba.* Blue and red dye-balls of *Tephrosia* and camwood; *Uoji's,* or native whips of hippopotamus skin; earthern pipe heads; chalk in small squares, prepared from incinerated bones, used

on the fingers when spinning, or occasionally for decorating the person, it is called *Effu* in the Aku, and *Alli* in Haussa. Most of the manufactured articles brought on board were of excellent description, considering the rude implements used:—swords and daggers well tempered, and some of the blades ornamented with attempts at Arabic characters; calabashes very neatly carved, and dyed of various colours.

The trees in this neighbourhood are of large size, especially the *Adansonia digitata* or *Baobob*, and a remarkable variety of *Sarcocephalus;* while among the brushwood, the *Ceratophyllus, Salvinias*, and a leafless *Euphorbia*, were abundant; the milky juice of the last plant is said by the natives to be extremely acrid, and the least quantity causes blindness if applied to the eyes.

Previously to leaving England, we had been assured there was a species of cactus very similar to, if not the same as, the true *Opuntia cocci*, but we looked in vain for it, and were, with regret, obliged to see the insects, we had brought so far and so carefully, perish for the want of the necessary food. Every one of the plants we had taken on board at Teneriffe were overrun and destroyed by the large colonies of cochineal which had formed on them.

Mr. Toby, mate, had a very bad night, and we feared he could not get over it—two new cases to-day. A man brought a small basket of raw cotton from

a town about three miles below; he said a great deal is grown around his village; every person has some for his own purposes; the staple appeared to be fine, but short; the plant is an annual. We procured also specimens of the *Pirn*, used for spinning by hand, which is precisely similar to the method formerly practised in England, and still by the peasants of Italy, &c.

The Commissioners were anxiously employed every day on board the 'Albert,' deliberating on the best plan to be adopted for our future proceedings, which the rapidly increasing sickness, as well as the advance of the season, rendered very perplexing.

The botanist and geologist having examined the nature of the soil and productions, it was thought, that although these were not very favourable, yet all things considered, the land in the neighbourhood of the hill, called Stirling by Lander, was suitable for the first location of the infant colony.

Bàrraga, or Beaufort Island, and Mount Pattèh, seemed to be the most eligible positions for the erection of forts; and the country on the right bank of the river, in the neighbourhood of the confluence, having been abandoned by the former inhabitants in consequence of the frequent incursions of the Filatahs, afforded many advantages, since no jealous rights of property would be invaded, and the emigrants—who had gone no further than the opposite bank of the river to be safe from their oppressors—would, it was presumed, very soon gladly return to the homes of

their fathers, and re-people the territory under the protection and better laws of the white strangers. The Attàh of Eggarah, had also expressed a wish that we should take possession of a large portion of this land.



All these circumstances being duly considered, the Commissioners resolved to fix on a district with natural boundaries, comprising some beautiful country, with great variety of mountain and plain, watered by little streams, and completely commanding both the rivers, above and below the confluence.

	9 A.M.	Ther. 81°	Wet bulb Mason's Hygr.	75°
	3 P.M.	„ 87°	„ „	77°
	9 P.M.	„ 82°	„ „	76°
13*th.*—	9 A.M.	Ther. 79°	Wet bulb Mason's Hygr.	74°
	3 P.M.	„ 85°	„ „	77°
	9 P.M.	„ 79°	„ „	74

14*th.*—The Annajah, or Governor of this part of the

dominions of the Attàh, and the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty, being on board the 'Albert,' and also the chiefs of the districts about to be purchased, the Deed of Cession was fully explained to them in the Haussa language, and the frontiers agreed upon. It was especially stipulated, that all those native proprietors of slaves, who now were settled, or who hereafter might settle, on the ceded territory, must not expect to hold those slaves under British protection. The agents thoroughly comprehended the whole meaning of the Deed, to the reading of which they appeared to give much patient attention;—unless we mistook apathy for such a laudable bearing.



The tract of land fixed on, and agreed to by the agents, extends about sixteen miles along the right bank of the river, and four miles from its margin. The boundaries were pointed out to be,—

on the north, a rivulet flowing between the mountains, named in Allen's chart, Victoria and Pattèh: on the south, by the first stream, which may empty itself into the Niger, to the southward of the island named Bàrraga, and including within the said limits the mountains called Etse (Soracte), and Erro (Saddleback); on the east, by the river Niger; and on the west, by straight lines joining the western bases of the mountains, laid down in the same chart as Outram and Deacon (the native names being unknown), and Etse (Soracte), to the nearest points of the aforesaid rivulets.

For the purchase of this territory, we agreed to give seven hundred thousand cowries (nearly £45) or goods to that amount; one-fifth part of which was to be paid when the Deed of Cession was signed, as security for the purchase and delivery of the said land; the remainder to be paid as soon as the British people shall have had possession of the land for twelve months, provided they should at that time wish to retain it, either at one payment, or in five instalments, as might be most convenient to the Queen of Great Britain.

The agents having signed the Deed, in presence of the sons, and some of the headmen of the chief of the mountain villages of Lucojah, fourteen bags, containing one hundred and sixty thousand cowries (*Cypræa Moneta*), the currency of the country, were delivered for the Attàh of Eggarah, as the first instalment of the purchase money. These small white shells—the only medium of circulation in central Africa—are found in great abundance in the Maldive Islands. We

CONFLUENCE

OF THE

RIVERS NIGER AND CHADDA,

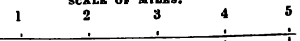
Shewing the River Boundary of the Territory ceded to Her Majesty by the

ATTAH OF IDDAH,

IN SEPTEMBER, 1841.

The Soundings are in feet and are reduced to Low Water on the assumption that the River fell about 6 feet after the 'Quorra' Steamer grounded, in the middle of December, 1832.

SCALE OF MILES.



CAPTAIN WILLIAM ALLEN, R.N.

had been supplied with a large quantity, bought in London by the ton, from the price of which we estimated the value of one thousand to be about fifteen pence. In the former Expedition, Lander considered one thousand to be worth one shilling. The natives generally drill a hole, and string them in hundreds, ten of which are tied together, thus facilitating the operation of settling which is a very tedious affair when detached, as both the buyer and seller insists on counting them, and when they differ, it has to be done over again. As ours were loose, it would have been an endless trouble to have counted them; Captain Trotter, therefore, substituted measure for number, and it was easy to make the natives see, by giving a fair quantity, that it was to their advantage.

On the performance of this part of the ceremony, there was neither patience nor apathy displayed. So large a treasure, amounting to about £9, is seldom known to change hands at one transaction between the merchants in this country, and many were the eyes that gloated on it.

Power was reserved to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain to assume the sovereignty of the aforesaid territory at her pleasure; and also to sanction, modify, or annul the whole or any part of the Deed of Cession. At the same time, it was declared by the British authorities, to guarantee to all persons the possession of their houses, and the land they might at the present time have under cultivation.

Mr. Carr, appointed to manage the proposed Model

Farm, next made application to the Commissioners, to have an allotment of from three to five hundred acres of the purchased land, for purposes of cultivation.

The Commissioners acceded to this request, subject to certain conditions, namely, that an annual rent of one penny per acre should be paid in consideration thereof, into her Majesty's treasury, by the Model Farm Society, of Mincing-lane, London. The superintendent was charged to respect the rights of the natives who might be in occupation of any houses or lands under cultivation; which, however, he was at liberty to hire, provided the native proprietors were willing to part with them, on such a reasonable compensation being paid as should be decided upon by the Commissioners, or in their absence by the senior naval officer, or their deputy; in whose presence, and in that of the chief of the district in which the land should be situate, it was provided the bargain should be made, and the boundaries settled;—the same to be duly registered.

In the meanwhile, as no obstacles were anticipated to these arrangements, and in order, as much as possible, to avoid delay, which in our present circumstances was very necessary, the house, stores, and model farm furniture had been landed, and a gay tent, which figured at the Eglintoun Tournament, was set up as a temporary residence for the superintendent. In disembarking the cumbrous iron-work of the model farm, our paddle-box boat unfortunately got adrift, owing to the strength of the current, filled, and sank in a deep part of the river. The loss of the iron was comparatively of little consequence,

as it must be long ere *cotton gins* and *presses* can be wanted; but the loss to the 'Wilberforce' of a valuable boat, was irreparable. From its weight, it would be doubtless buried in the sand, so that, even in the dry season, there could be very little chance of recovering it.

The Malam Sabah, or Ma' Sabah, the second judge of Iddah, and one of the agents on the part of the Attàh to settle the boundaries of the territory, came on board the 'Wilberforce,' with his wife, a very agreeable-looking young woman: they were indeed what might be called an interesting couple. She was very grateful for some female dresses. The 'Malam' is the son of the old Malam Kitàb, who, at the instigation of the former Attàh, had poisoned several of Lander's crew, and had even sent Commander W. Allen a dose, which he declined taking. He would not, however, visit the sins of the father upon the son, who professed great attachment for him; but treated him well, in the hopes of deriving some information, especially on the subject of the River Chadda, which Ma'Sabah had frequently navigated.

14*th*.—	9 A.M.	Ther. 82°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	75°
	3 P.M.	" 86°	"	"	77°
	9 P.M.	" 82°	"	"	77°
15*th*.—	9 A.M.	Ther. 79°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	74°½
	3 P.M.	" 86°	"	"	78°
	9 P.M.	" 80°	"	"	75°

16*th*.—At a consultation of the Commissioners, Captain Trotter stated, that the Expedition had now

arrived at the confluence of the two great rivers, on the banks of each of which nations might be found, with whom it would be very desirable to open friendly communications. On referring to Lord John's instructions and dispatches, it appeared that we had power to divide the Commission, with the view of saving time, by carrying on simultaneous operations, which the advanced season, and the increasing sickness, now made very desirable. It was, therefore, decided that H.M.S. 'Albert' and 'Soudan' should ascend the Niger, to treat with the chiefs on its banks, and especially with the King of the Filatahs, at Rabbah; and that they should go as far beyond that place, either in the 'Albert,' or 'Soudan,' as circumstances would warrant. If rocks should be found to obstruct the passage of the river for a steamer at or near Bussah, as there was every reason to apprehend, it was proposed—if health would permit—that Lieutenant Strange and a party should advance in the galleys and large canoes, which had been provided for such a service.

In the meantime, H.M.S. 'Wilberforce' was to proceed up the Chadda. It was known by Allen's former voyage up this magnificent river, that, with the exception of Fandah, which lies at a little distance from it, the banks for nearly a hundred miles, at least, were but thinly peopled; but beyond that, the large city of Jakoba was supposed to be situated. This was supposed to be an active contributor to the Slave Trade, as well as Bishi, where there is a large market. Above these, we had no acquaintance with the course of the river, nor of

the nations in its neighbourhood, except from the information derived from Ma'Sabah.* A river of such magnitude, however, equal to, if not greater than the Niger, must roll its waters through an immense extent of country; and if, as there was much reason to believe, it should prove to be the outlet of the great Lake Chad, or Tzad,† discovered by Denham and Clapperton, not only would an important geographical problem be solved, and new fields opened for commercial enterprise, but access would be gained by the double operations to the principal sources of the Slave Trade.

Captain Trotter and Commander Bird Allen in the Niger, and Commander W. Allen and Mr. Cook in the Chadda, were accordingly empowered to make Treaties with the chiefs, subject to the sanction of the whole Commission; and the details of the proceedings of each sub-commission-meeting were to be embodied in the General Report of the Commissioners to her Majesty's Government.

For the protection of the new settlers at the Model Farm, and at the request of Mr. Carr, the 'Amelia' was left at the anchorage, abreast of Stirling, under the charge of Mr. Webb, mate—now commander—with Mr. Collman, assistant-surgeon, and one of the sappers; also Mr. Ansell, to procure specimens of the most valuable plants and seeds. Captain Trotter gave Mr. Webb full

* Page 375.

† See a paper on this subject by Captain W. Allen in the 13th volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

instructions for his guidance during our absence. He was directed to take means to secure such of her Majesty's stores as might be landed, by surrounding them with palisades and a ditch; and, generally, to throw up such defences on the territory as he might think advisable. He was to make a survey of the territory ceded to her Majesty, commencing with the immediate neighbourhood of the Model Farm, marking particularly the boundaries of land at present occupied by the original proprietors, with the view of securing them from infringement. He was, however, strictly enjoined to avoid such exposure as might be dangerous to European constitutions. The opportunity of a fixed station, for scientific observations, was not to be neglected. Supplies of live stock, yams, &c., were to be purchased, and reserved for the use of her Majesty's vessels on their return, to the extent of one month's consumption for one hundred men.

The black men under Mr. Webb's command, together with such natives as might be induced to work for hire, were to be employed in cutting and storing firewood, and in preparing fuel on Mr. Grant's plan, by mixing coal tar and pitch—of which there was a quantity left in the 'Amelia'—with charcoal, as a substitute for coal-dust.

Captain Trotter further directed Mr. Webb to "consider every information regarding the territory, and the persons living upon it, as of primary importance; ascertaining the numbers, occupations, and dispositions of the various inhabitants you meet; and all particulars relative to any predatory incursions, which may have been made

by the Filatahs, or others, upon the natives; and learning, as far as possible, the nature and pretexts of such incursions. In fact, it is so desirable that every information should be afforded her Majesty's Government, to enable them to judge of the propriety of retaining this portion of country, lately ceded to her Majesty, that the enquiries concerning it cannot be of too varied a character; and, for this purpose, you are to keep a daily journal of observations, mentioning in it whatever may attract your notice, and furnishing me hereafter with a copy thereof."*

In fact, nothing was neglected that the most unwearied zeal and forethought on the part of the senior officer in command of the Expedition could devise for the accomplishment of its objects. The variety of perplexing considerations and intense anxieties, which in so short a time crowded in upon him, were such, that nothing but moral courage of the highest order could have sustained even the most robust constitution. A Mind, however, which to human wisdom is inscrutable, has seen fit to establish His order of things in such a way, that our devices may not subvert. The officer in charge of the 'Amelia,' to whom the foregoing comprehensive instructions were directed, was almost immediately obliged to be removed, on account of sickness, to the 'Albert.' Mr. Kingdon, assistant clerk, in the 'Soudan,' was then

* Captain Trotter's instructions to Lieut. Webb.

appointed in his place, as, under existing circumstances, no executive officer could be spared from either of the vessels for this service.

9 A.M.	Ther. 82°	Wet bulb	Mason's Hygr.	76°
3 P.M.	„ 84°	„	„	77°
9 P.M.	„ 78°	„	„	74°

17*th*.—For the last three days, the fever had been progressing rapidly in all the vessels, and in the little 'Soudan,' only six persons were able to move about, and these shewed evident proofs, by depression of spirits and lassitude, that the dreadful climate was too surely doing its work. Lieutenant Ellis, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Waters, and several of her crew, were still in a most dangerous state. On board the 'Albert,' Mr. Nightingale, the assistant-surgeon, was at the point of death; and several in the 'Wilberforce' in almost as hopeless a state. The scenes at night were most agonizing. Nothing but muttering delirium, or suppressed groans were heard on every side on board the vessels, affording a sad contrast to the placid character of the river and its surrounding scenery.

Nearly every person, even the unattacked, complained of the enervating feeling. To-day, Mr. Collman, the acting assistant-surgeon, was desired by Commander Bird Allen to go on board the 'Amelia' tender, as medical officer. He burst into tears; and, on being asked the reason, he replied it was involuntary weakness, produced by the climate. However, it appeared afterwards that, in addition to this cause, he had, during a little

repose snatched from his duties, been disheartened by a feverish dream of his home and family.*

On the 18th of September, the number of sick had increased to sixty, and death had already done fearful execution among us. One officer, Assistant-surgeon Nightingale, and three men of H.M.S. 'Albert.' John Peglar, stoker; James Robinson, stoker; John Burgess, seaman. Two of the 'Wilberforce;' James Kneebone, seaman; William Rabling, sapper; and one, Charles Levinge, captain's steward, of the 'Soudan,' had already fallen victims to the fever; and the greater proportion of the crews of all the vessels were now suffering from it, or the premonitory symptoms of extreme lassitude and debility.

Captain Trotter at first thought that if the sick could be conveyed to the summit of Mount Pattèh, the pure air of that elevated region might be a sufficient change to produce a beneficial effect on them. On further consideration, however, and consultation with Dr. McWilliam, the chief surgeon of the Expedition, it was found that those who most required such a change, were unable to bear the fatigue of the removal; and as it was the opinion of that medical officer, that the best chance of saving them, was in their being speedily taken to the sea, Captain Trotter eventually decided on sending away

* That this weakness did not arise from any unmanly fear of meeting death, was proved by the last moments of this amiable man on board the 'Wilberforce,' which exhibited a truly edifying instance of calm Christian-like, and even cheerful resignation.

all such invalids as the surgeon might think it desirable to remove.

H.M.S.V. "'Soudan' was therefore prepared hastily for this service; and, as the services of Commander B. Allen, as Commissioner, could not be dispensed with, Mr. Fishbourne, then first-lieutenant of the 'Albert,' now commander, was appointed to take temporary charge of that vessel.

A meeting of the Commissioners was held, at which Captain Trotter informed them of the determination he had come to in this respect, as naval Commander of the Expedition, with whom such power and responsibility necessarily rested. Commander W. Allen and Mr. Cook thought that the reduced state of the Expedition, rendered it advisable for all the vessels to return to the sea. Mr. Commissioner Cook said, that if he were to consult his own feelings, he would say, decidedly, proceed; but from the observations which had been made, he was of opinion, that to ascend the river now, would paralyze future exertions, and prevent ultimate success; but that, if we were to withdraw, we should be able to come up again with renovated health. Commander W. Allen stated he wished to place his opinion on record, as the river would now begin to fall, and the most unhealthy season would commence, he thought it his duty to suggest that, considering the weakened state of the Expedition, and the increasing sickness, the decision of the Commissioners at their former sitting, namely, to proceed up both rivers, should not be abided by, but that all the steam-vessels should leave the river.

Commander Bird Allen said, that as we had arrived thus far on our progress, and the 'Soudan' was about to be dispatched with the sick, he conceived it would be better for ourselves, and more in conformity with the wishes of the Government, that the two vessels should persevere for a week at least, by which time it would be seen whether the sickness was on the increase. Captain Trotter considered, that as we were all aware before we embarked upon the Expedition, of the hazard we had to encounter from the climate, the objections raised against our further progress did not appear to him of sufficient force to justify a retreat at so early a period, whilst so many of us were still in full health; and besides, being of opinion with Dr. McWilliam, that we might possibly reach a healthier climate as we got higher up the river, he deemed the measure of sending away the sick would restore such efficiency to the vessels, as would afford a reasonable prospect of the 'Albert' remaining up the Niger long enough to reach Rabbah, and the 'Wilberforce' a corresponding height in the Chadda;—or, at all events, to justify our making the attempt.

Captain Trotter "believed that the measure of sending the sick to the sea, while it would benefit the sick themselves, would restore efficiency to the Expedition, was founded not only on the consideration, that the removal of so many men, whose services were not likely to be soon available, would render the vessels more effective than they were whilst the sick remained on board, but that the remainder of the crew, who were

still in health, would be then relieved from the depressing influence on the spirits, occasioned by the presence of so many of their sick shipmates, and also that a pre-disposing cause of fever, in the closeness and impurity of the air, arising from a number of sick persons being thus crowded together, would be removed, while those patients whose state did not require a removal to the sea, would be benefited by being less crowded in sick quarters."

Captain Trotter, as Senior Commissioner, resolved, therefore, after receiving the opinions of his colleagues, that the same course should be followed in regard to the two larger vessels, which had been determined upon at the meeting of the 16th of September.

The 'Soudan' was accordingly got ready with the utmost possible dispatch, to receive her melancholy cargo, and Commander W. Allen was directed to send his sick on board. That officer, however, feeling perfectly convinced from his former experience of the river, and the present condition of the crews, that in a very short time, H. M. S. 'Wilberforce' would be reduced to the necessity of following the 'Soudan,' requested permission to send such only of the sick as might desire to go; especially as he considered—in which his surgeon, Dr. Pritchett, concurred—that the removal of the men in the state in which some of them were, would be attended with great risk. Only six expressed a wish to leave, the others, sixteen in number, preferred to remain by their ship. One man, on being asked whether he would like to go, said he

thought we had got into a very bad place, and the sooner we were out of it the better, but he would stay by his ship.

In order to have as much air as possible for the sufferers and to keep them from the other men, Commander W. Allen had a large screened berth fitted on the upper deck, in the middle of the vessel, well protected from the sun, and the dews at night, by thick awnings, from which was suspended a large punkah.

	9 A.M.	Ther. 82°	Wet bulb Mason's hygr.	78°
	3 P.M.	83°	„ „	78°
	9 P.M.	78°	„ „	75°
18*th.*	9 A.M.	Ther. 84°	Wet bulb Mason's hygr.	77°
	3 P.M.	80°	„ „	77°
	9 P.M.	78°	„ „	76°

Sunday 19*th.*—The 'Soudan' came alongside the 'Wilberforce' to receive our invalids, who took a melancholy farewell of their officers and messmates.

Prayers were read to the crews of both vessels. It was an affecting scene. The whole of one side of the little vessel was covered with the invalids, and the cabins were full of officers; there was, indeed, no room for more.

The separation from so many of our companions under such circumstances could not be otherwise than painful to all:—the only cheering feature was in the hope, that the attenuated beings who now departed would soon be within the influence of a more favourable climate, and that we might meet under happier auspices.

In a short time the steam was got up, and our little

consort—watched by many commiserating eyes—rapidly glided out of view.

On the departure of the 'Soudan,' Captain Trotter gave orders for the 'Wilberforce' to get up the steam, and that when he made the signal to part company, each vessel should pursue the destination agreed upon at the sitting of the 16th instant.

The fever had, however, even in this short interval, made rapid advances, many more cases having been added to the sick list. Two of the three engineers were reported to-day, after the 'Soudan' had sailed, making altogether thirty-two cases in the 'Wilberforce;' and leaving only Lieutenant Strange, Mr. Green the second master, Mr. Johnson the first engineer, one stoker, and nine men, capable of doing duty. Of these several, already complaining, were soon laid up.

Commander W. Allen, therefore, having seriously considered the desperate condition to which we were reduced, and the hopeless prospect of the future, when the signal was made "to part" waited on Captain Trotter, laying before him the state of his crew, and requesting a special meeting might be held of the Commissioners to re-consider our position.

The sitting was held on board H.M.S. 'Wilberforce,' as Mr. Commissioner Cook was unwell, though his illness did not prove to be river fever. After the usual prayers, Commander W. Allen said, that being the only person present who had experience of the Niger, he conceived it to be a solemn duty devolved upon him, to take upon himself the responsibility of stating, that

from the knowledge he had of the river, the advanced period of the season, the increasing sickness in both the 'Albert' and 'Wilberforce,' the difficulty and danger of having to remain in unhealthy parts to cut wood when the coals should be expended—that the reduced state of the Expedition no longer warranted a perseverance in the prosecution of its objects, more especially should the sickness continue, as from experience we were led to infer it would; and as the moral effect of appearing before the town of Rabbah in a state of prostration would be most prejudicial to the Mission. He, therefore, proposed—

"That, from a consideration of these circumstances, it appears to be advisable that the Expedition should return without delay to the sea-side, in the hope of being able to carry out its purposes at a more favourable season and with renewed strength."

This advice was in strict conformity with the opinion which Commander W. Allen had given in England as to the proper time for leaving the river, which he considered to be previous to the commencement of the subsidence of the flood. This usually happens about the latter end of September, after which, the rapidly falling river leaves stagnant water on the low lands, charged with enormous quantities of decaying vegetable matter, which must render the exhalations very prolific of disease; and, if we had found this to be the case while the river was rising, and the land but recently

inundated, we might expect its virulence to be increased now that the banks were so extensively flooded.

The danger, moreover, of descending the river under such circumstances, would be greatly increased. It is at all times more hazardous to navigate an unknown river with, than against the current; when, in addition to increased speed—over a part of which there is no controul—the depth of the water is diminishing by the subsidence of the flood; if a vessel should, in that case, unfortunately run on a shoal with such force as to prevent her being got off immediately, the probability would be, that the retreating water would leave her immoveably fixed until the rise of the next rainy season; as was the case with the 'Quorra' steam vessel in the last Expedition.

The Niger now, on the 19th of September, might be expected to be very near its maximum of flood, which the natives all agreed was this year unusually high, covering, therefore, more of the low lands, which would give increased cause of fevers. Thus then had the period of greatest danger arrived, and if we had found the climate so prejudicial under ordinary circumstances, we might conclude it would be infinitely more so at the period when these may be said to reach their climax. All these considerations induced Commander W. Allen to exhort his brother Commissioners to decide on returning to the sea.

Captain Trotter and Commander Bird Allen were of opinion, that although the increased sickness in the

'Wilberforce,' rendered it necessary for that vessel to descend the river, the 'Albert' having sent away so large a portion of her's, had restored in some degree her efficiency, especially as she had a good many more officers than the 'Wilberforce.' They, therefore, considering that vessel to be still capable of prosecuting the objects of the Expedition, would not abandon it while there was a hope of success.

It was with much pain that Commander W. Allen felt himself compelled to differ in opinion from his colleagues, with whom, hitherto, perfect harmony had subsisted, but he offered his suggestions with a most anxious desire to forward the great objects of the Expedition. With his former experience, obtained in the same locality, by no ordinary amount of suffering, he could not help anticipating the results which actually followed, and however much he regretted the decision of the Senior Officer and Commander B. Allen, he admired the unshaken courage of those gallant officers.

If it had depended on human means, their zealous devotion to the cause on which they had entered would have ensured its success. If any one should imagine that the prosecution of the Expedition was too soon abandoned, we insert the above remarks, to show how unjust and ungenerous it is for those, who being themselves in safety, undertake to censure the conduct of officers when surrounded by such extraordinary difficulties; which did not, however, lessen Captain Trotter's

determination to go on, as long as there was a shadow of hope of accomplishing what was committed to his direction.

It was finally determined, that the 'Albert' should endeavour to reach Rabban, with the view of making treaties with the King of the Filatahs and other chiefs, while the 'Wilberforce' should, if circumstances would permit, carry out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, in the Bights of Benìn and Biafra; or, if necessary proceed to Ascension

During these discussions, the operations of landing the stores, &c. for the Model Farm had been continued. Many natives daily flocked on board the vessels, appearing to sympathize with the sufferings which they witnessed among the crews; and never was condolence more evidently, though silently, expressed than by the fine old Annajah Amèh Abokko.

The Annajah said, that the Filatahs had marched down upon his province three years ago, 1838: the inhabitants, as usual, took refuge on the sand banks in the middle of the river, and their enemies not having commenced their retreat before the floods set in, they were compelled to retire from both these ruthless invaders to the left bank, where they found themselves so secure, that they have remained there ever since, abandoning the homes of their fathers, from which they have been so frequently driven. They, however, would gladly return, and rebuild their town under the auspices of the white men, if we would settle there, and protect

them from their enemies, who were still at Egòh, or at Koto'n Kàrafi, about twenty miles above the confluence.

As it was very desirable to conciliate the powerful chief of Fandah, a present was sent to him by the Malam Sabah, who promised to explain and prepare him to accede to the objects of our mission, and also to secure his friendship to the settlers at the Confluence.

During our stay, we felt the effects of the amicable disposition of the Attàh, in the abundant supplies of provisions which were brought for sale. The former Expedition, on the contrary, suffered from the enmity of the late tyrant, who forbade the natives, under the severest penalties, from communicating with them, so that they were sometimes nearly starved.

19*th*.—	9 A.M.	Ther. 84°	Wet bulb	Mason's hygr.	77°
	3 P.M.	85°	,,	,,	77°
	9 P.M.	81°	,,	,,	76°
20*th*.—	9 A.M.	Ther. 83°	Wet bulb	Mason's hygr.	76°
	3 P.M.	83°	,,	,,	77°
	9 P.M.	80°	,,	,,	77°

Captain Trotter having prepared his dispatches, the two vessels separated, the 'Albert' to proceed up the river, and the 'Wilberforce,' with nearly all sick, to return to the coast.

CHAPTER XV.

Recapitulatory remarks—The entrance to the River Nun—The extent of the Delta—The Nun the principal outlet—Dense forests—Increasing population as we ascend—Various nations—Conquests of the Filatahs—Lobo, the chief Judge of Iddah—Schools—Religion Advance of Mahomedanism—Simple architecture—Description of a native dwelling—Cooking—Native beer of the Pagans—Politeness of the natives in the interior—Treatment of the women—Languages very numerous—Interpreters speak many very fluently—Haussa the language of commerce—Dress and ornaments—Growth of cotton, indigo, &c.—The love of traffic, the ruling passion—Markets—Dilatory traders—Lander's promissory notes—The principal articles of trade enumerated—The average profit on European goods stated—Erroneous estimate of the quantity and price of ivory by Lander.

Before we take leave of the River Niger, we think that a short *resumé* of our observations upon it, and upon the manners and customs of the nations inhabiting its banks, may be acceptable to our readears.* Though we must premise, that various circumstances, which can hardly be appreciated by the *voyageur autour de sa chambre ;* such as sickness, want of opportunity in the

* The greater part of this Chapter is abstracted from Captain W. Allen's MS. Narrative of the Expedition of 1832.

midst of apparent opportunities, difficulty of communication by interpreters, and, above all, lassitude—or, if *he* over his wine and walnuts, will have it—idleness—the inevitable consequence of the enervating effect of the climate;—these various circumstances combine to render such *resumé* very meagre, and particularly unsatisfactory to the aforesaid genus of *voyageurs*, who are both numerous and *exigeans*.

In the very outset, we must confess that our knowledge of the channels of the river is at present too imperfect to enable us to give anything like details in "sailing directions." In general terms, we may say that the ingress and egress of the Niger are extremely difficult for sailing vessels. Except at high water, there is always a heavy surf on the bar; but at that time, in moderately fine weather, there is scarcely a ripple, so that a sailing vessel, with a good leading wind from the south-west, which generally blows in the day-time, can easily get in; but she would be in great danger should it fall calm before reaching the anchorage, as the ebb-tide would rapidly sweep her back among the rollers, which then break furiously. The greatest difficulty, however, for a sailing vessel is in leaving the river. She can only attempt it at nearly high water, in order to have it quite smooth; and in the morning, as the land-wind then blows, but generally fails before the bar can be crossed, and when the ebb-tide has commenced, its vicinity is extremely dangerous.

There is no difficulty for steamers, provided high-water is exactly taken.

If the *voyageur* should be tempted by the facility with which we shall whisk him up and down the Niger in the course of these remarks, to abandon his peculiar mode of travelling in his easy-chair, to make the absolute voyage, we can only tell him that he must carefully feel his way with the lead as we did. Short cuts are to be avoided—that is, going from one salient point to another—as shoals are always found below these, in addition to the banks in the middle of the river. The best rule is to steer round all the curvatures, for there the "big water" is sure to be found, scooping out the bank.

The Delta, formed by the deposit of the river, covering an extent of perhaps seven thousand square miles, commences above Abòh, at a distance of about ninety miles from the sea in a direct line. The first divergents that we can speak positively to, are the Bonny and Benin branches, so called; the Nun, which we navigated, lying between them. These send off innumerable ramifications, right and left, which diminish in breadth and volume, in their downward course, till they inundate the whole surface; or, more correctly speaking, the banks disappearing, the river is diffused in one swamp, unbroken except by the mangrove trees, (*Rhyzophora*), which have their roots in the water. The outer margin of this has a barrier of somewhat firm land, bearing forest trees, which is thrown up by the opposing force of the sea. In this barrier are about twenty large and deep reservoirs, or estuaries, where the water is collected previously to its final discharge into the sea; the small rise and fall of which—about six feet

only—requiring such an arrangement to enable it to receive the immense volume of water brought down during the rainy season.

It has been a subject of discussion, *which* is the principal outlet of the Niger. We can only reason upon our few facts; but it may be presumed that the greater the angle at which a divergent leaves the parent stream, the less likely is it to be the principal branch; as the current being necessarily more sluggish, obstructs its own passage by a greater deposit of alluvium. We found, in fact, such to be the case with the extreme divergents right and left; whereas the central, or Nun branch, preserves the main direction of the river, bisecting the Delta, and carrying the alluvial deposit farthest out into the sea, forming the salient point called Cape Formoso. These important attributes, we contend, are sufficient to entitle the Nun branch to be considered as the principal outlet of the mighty Niger; although the only access to it from the *estuary* is by a shallow channel, not more than fifty yards wide.

The current increased in strength as we ascended the river, being about two miles per hour at the lower part of the Delta, and three miles and a half at the confluence, while in a narrow part, abreast of Bàrraga, it ran four miles. These averages were, however, taken during an interval of twenty days, while the river was rising and increasing in volume. In the dry season, the current is very much less; in some places, where the stream is broad, it was not more than half a knot. The difference between marks made at Iddah in the be-

ginning of September, 1841, and in the following July, shewed a fall of the river of thirty feet. But these cannot be taken as the highest and the lowest periods. The wind generally blows up the river, or from the south-west, especially during the Spring months. The weather is then delightfully cool.

Above the mangrove swamps, the land gradually emerges, with vegetation increasing in richness, to the vertex of the Delta, where diluvial formation is first seen in gentle hills, backed at Iddah—two hundred and twenty miles—by greater elevations; these terminate in abrupt cliffs of sandstone, one hundred and fifty feet high, on the left bank of the river. Above this are many isolated mountains, of irregular forms, until we reach the confluence of the Chadda with the Niger, about two hundred and seventy miles from the sea, where there is greater continuity and height in the range, which, under the vague name of Kong Mountains, were formerly supposed to be the barrier which opposed the course of the Niger to the Atlantic.

From this part commences the series of table elevations, isolated in some parts, stretching up both sides of the Niger as far as Rabbah, about four hundred and thirty-three miles from the sea, on the left bank; on the right they are not seen so far. At this city some undulating hills terminate in cliffs, similar to those at Iddah.

All the lower parts of the river are covered with dense forests, except where partially cleared by the hand of man; but above the confluence, there is a great deal of

land naturally free from wood, much cultivated, and looking like magnificent park scenery.

The following is the substance of what was obtained from the Malam Sabah, and from other natives, respecting the Chadda, who were frequently questioned; but the difficulty of getting anything like a clear account from them is beyond belief. It is necessary to cross-question in every possible way; and when, after much trouble, there appears a dawning of a clear and connected account, some contradictory statement from another, or even the same party, will throw the whole into confusion.

The chief next in power to the Attàh of Eggarah is the King of Fandah,* who is Jimmejeh, or Governor of the Chadda; and the King of Koto'n Kàrafi has the same power over the Niger. Both are said to be subject to the Saliki Babàn, or great King, the Attàh of Iddah.

The river Niger is called in the Eggarah language Ujìmmini Fù-fu, the 'white water;' the Chadda, Ujìmmini Dù-du, the 'dark water.' These characteristics are applicable to the turbid state of the one, and the clearness of the other. In the Nufi language, they are called respectively Fùrodo and Fùroji. In the Haussa, the former is known as the Guli-ba'n Kowara; and at Sego, in the Bambarra country, where Mungo Park first saw it, the natives named it Joliba. All these are probably generic terms; it has, therefore,

* This city was visited by Mr. Laird and by Captain W. Allen on the former Expedition.

been thought best to retain the generally received appellation Niger.

Mà'Sabah gave the following distances of the places on the Chadda, which he had visited:—

From the point of confluence,

	to Immoshah,	two days,	on the right bank
		(Bofo, or Assasin, is opposite.)	
thence to	Aketo	one day,	right bank
	Bagàna	„	left bank
	Amegedì	„	ditto ditto
Chèruku or	Kàruko	„	right.

This is near the principal town, Oruko, of which it is the port.

Akpeko	one day	right bank
Ambèddo	„	left bank.

The Malam gave us the following distances of places, from hearsay, not having visited them himself:—

From	Ambèddo		
to	Abushi,	one day	
thence to	Akbah	„	a large town, right bank
	Afòketeh	„	a large branch joins

here from the south-eastward. I tis broad, but not deep; twelve days up this branch, is a town, Kàchina Ara.

The north-eastern branch, the dark, or clear water, is deep, without rocks. Two days up this, is Akwara, the port of the large market-town, Okari, which the Malam informed us is the capital of the Kororòfa nation, of which the King's name is Anjùh: he is independent.

By another account, it is four days, in a canoe, from

Fandah to Akpeko, the port or wharf of Doma, from which it is distant ten hours. By land, from Fandah to Doma, it is six days. From Akpeko to Bishi, in the Apàh country, three days. This, from the somewhat agreement of the distance, must be the Abushi of the Malam Sabah, though one gives two, and the other three days.

Salt is found and gathered near Bishi, at a salt lake, or pool, two or three hours' ride in circumference. Its depth is to the arm-pits. It hurts the skin: it has no canoes. There are no hills in the neighbourhood, but some in the distant Awèh country. The Malam also said, that two days from Amagèdi, towards Awèh, which, however, does not agree in the distance, there is a salt lake, which in the dry season is only midleg deep. The Fandah people trade up the 'dark water.' They are of the Birrah nation, as well as the natives of Koto'n Kàrafi; the inhabitants of Toto and of Abajeh, are Nufawa, or of the Nufi nation.

We believe there is a very large slave market at Bishi, or at Okari, from which they used to be sent overland, and not down the Chadda, to Bonny or old Calebar. They are now conveyed overland to the markets on the Niger, belonging to Iddah, thence by the river and connecting creeks, to Lagos, &c.

At Fernando Po, a native of the Apàh country, in which Bishi is situated, though he did remember the name of that town, told us that he came with a Kàfilah, of about three thousand persons, across the country to Iddah; and thence he was sent, again overland, through

the eastern Ibu country to Bonny, where he was sold to the Spaniards. He said his native country had a broad, deep and very rapid river running through it—"No canoes could stand on it:"—they traverse it on a bridge made of bush-rope; four "bars" are charged for the passage of seven slaves; the ropes are renewed every month, and a man has charge of it, appointed by the King:—The river is called Emmeleh, it is very rocky—joins the Niger;—the country has mountains higher than those of Fernando Po; there is a large rock with caverns and water "decked over," where the natives, who cannot make resistance, conceal themselves from the Filatahs, and in other inaccessible fastnesses in the rocks, which they ascend by ladders, and draw them up after them. He called them forts. He said the principal town in the Appàh country is Palòh; is walled and staked;—the houses similar to those of Iddah, but larger;—cotton and indigo are cultivated in abundance;—they make cloth;—they are pagans, and sacrifice goats when people are sick. In Attàm, the country next to the westward of Appàh, the same language nearly as that of Iddah is spoken; they come to the Appàh market at Palòh; he crossed the river, and then came all the way on foot to Iddah, then by land to Bonny; there were three thousand slaves; they passed by many towns, as Manni, Bahàl, Bitàrrh, Venièn, Poa, Ikundu, Ikundu-manni; he had forgotten the rest, as he was a very young boy when captured, and the account was somewhat vague, though he spoke very good English.

The banks of the Niger are populous, with the

exception of the neighbourhood of the mangrove swamps; but wherever man has been able to get a firm footing, he has cleared away a patch for cultivation, and built his hut. This is found to increase rapidly as we ascend. Large villages, towns, and even populous cities, are met with. On the banks of the Chadda, on the contrary, the population is very thin, and in a low state, with the exception of the kingdom of Fandah. A very small portion of its course, only is known, and that has been almost depopulated by the frequent slave-catching expeditions. The poor natives were in the greatest alarm at Lander's visit, especially when the name of our friend Abokko, the chief of Adda Mugu was mentioned, as he had frequently attacked their villages. The country on both sides, nevertheless, is capable of supporting prodigious numbers; the luxuriance of the vegetation is beyond belief, and the palm-tree, which would form a ground-work for national wealth and prosperity, grows in the greatest abundance.

In the short distance from the sea to Rabbah, about four hundred and thirty-three miles, there are many distinct nations inhabiting the banks of the Niger. The only name we learned of those in the Delta, was the Orù, which is probably much subdivided. Above this is the widely-spread Ibu race, of which our friend Obi rules only the small part dwelling on the banks. The Shabbi, or Eggarah succeeds, and extends to the confluence, the capital of which is Iddah, and on the opposite bank is the Benin nation. Above this, on the right bank of the Niger, is the Kakanda, an abject race, the constant

prey of the slave-catcher. Their chief town, Buddu, has frequently been burned by the Filatahs in their predatory excursions. Higher up, is the flourishing town of Egga, the highest point to which the last Expedition ascended, about three hundred and thirty miles from the sea. It has but a small territory. The large country of Yarriba is above and behind it.

On the left bank, above the confluence, is the small territory of Kattam-Kàrrafi. To the eastward of it, the large city of Toto, and the kingdom and populous city of Fandah. To the north-west, is the large and once flourishing kingdom of Nufi; inhabited by the most enterprising race of the interior. They are frank, good-humoured, and very faithful. The long-continuance of civil wars which have distracted their country, and the frequent invasions of the Filatahs, have scattered them among all the surrounding nations, where they are the most active manufacturers and merchants. They are said never to be cast down by reverses of fortune, but to retain their industrious habits and cheerfulness of disposition under all circumstances. The women are chiefly employed in the petty retail trade about the country. If a Kàfilah, to which a Nufi woman is attached, be pursued, she will rather be captured with the goods entrusted to her, than throw them away to aid her escape.

Feuds in the royal family of Nufi have enabled the Filatahs, or as they are differently called, Filani, Fellahs, or Fulahs, to seize on a large portion of this kingdom; and they have settled at Rabbah, after having driven out

the inhabitants, and burned the former town of the same name. From being the oppressed, the Filani have become the oppressors of all the surrounding nations, having carried their depredations as far as the confluence, and threatened the Great King himself—the Sàlikibabàn, or Attàh of Iddah—to whom the chiefs of Fandah, Kattam-Kàrafi and Buddu acknowledge allegiance, by paying him a small tribute.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the institutions, to be able to say positively what is the degree of power possessed by the chiefs. They all declared it to be despotic; but we had some reason to believe that it is held in very wholesome check by councils of the elders, and the government seems to be mild. The Mahomedans take, of course, the Koran for their guide. Among the Pagans, we may surmise that established usages have the place of written laws. We saw on a former occasion justice administered by the King at the gate of his palace, in open court at Fendah; and all belonging to the late Expedition will remember the dignified deportment of Lobo, the chief judge of Iddah. There are some observances relative to prerogative, which are strictly enforced; such as the privilege claimed by the great chiefs of preemption in trade, the exclusive use of certain articles—as dresses of a particular colour, umbrellas, &c. If any inferior chief, or private person, should presume to make use of these appurtenances to royalty, he would be severely fined, and in default of payment, sold as a slave. The late Attàh of Iddah appeared to have been the most

sanguinary of the sovereign chiefs. Decapitation, poison, and mutilation, were said to be frequent punishments inflicted by him; sometimes wantonly on his slaves,* and frequently from superstitious motives, as he believed the spirit of the river to be propitiated by human sacrifices. Lander succeeded in making him promise to relinquish this horrible practice, but we fear, only for a time, as Oldfield mentions his having returned to it. However, deprivation of liberty is the most prevalent in judicial cases; and whatever may be the amount of guilt, the judge, being the gainer, may be tempted to rejoice in the increase of crime, since to him it is a source of revenue.

In many towns, and especially at Rabbah, are schools pretty well attended, but as none of the languages of these countries are written, the children are taught to read the Koran, to write it on sand, and to repeat a few Arabic prayers, which is the total amount of their learning, and he who can recite the most and the loudest in a breath, is the aptest scholar.

To say precisely what are the ideas of religion entertained by those natives who are without the pale of Mahomedanism, would be impossible. The pagans have very ill-defined ideas on the subject, but believe in a Supreme Being. Fetichism universally prevails, and they think that "stocks and stones" are deputed to care for, or mar the welfare of man. They have unbounded

* He is stated to have cut off the eyelids of those who guarded his treasure, in order to make them more watchful.

faith in charms—Màgoni—which they believe can "call up spirits from the vasty deep;" and some persons pretend to have the power of transforming themselves to any shape they choose. In fact, there is nothing too extravagant to find credence among the poor untutored natives.

Mahomedanism has made rapid strides in Sudàn during the present century, and if the Filatahs continue their victorious career, they will easily engraft their religion on the vague creed of the Pagans; but, while readily adopting that of their conquerors, they will still cling to the superstitions of their fathers; which the Filatahs themselves mingle with the imperfectly understood doctrines of the Prophet. The out-posts have made considerable advance in preparing the way for a general conversion since, the Malems, or learned men, who, generally have no other claim to the title than the being able to mumble a prayer or a passage from the Koran, are much venerated everywhere; their advice is taken on all occasions, and they already lead the minds of the people. It might be supposed that this pliability would render the diffusion of Christianity very easy. It may, in some degree, have prepared the way to a better conversion, by presenting a more sublime idea than the Fetichism can afford; but, it is to be feared, that the Mahomedanism which is practised, consisting merely in observances, enacted without any exertion of the mind, will render it more difficult to make them comprehend the beautiful morality and the refined dogmas of our religion. At all

places below Rabbah, however, we had every reason to believe that Missionaries would be joyfully received. Idols are to be met with everywhere, but the only places of public worship which we saw in 1833, were the mosques or temples at Fandah and at Rabbah, where the Faithful appeared very assiduous in their devotions. The Malems always carry beads, which they count devoutly, and gain great credit for sanctity among the people. When these reverend doctors salute one another, they do it with a mysterious air, and there seems to be a sort of freemasonry in their manner of shaking hands. They generally gain a good livelihood by writing charms; as a rich man considers his wealth well-employed in procuring abundance of these, although he believes that *any one* is sufficient for the purpose of shielding him from harm.

It is difficult, with our prejudices in favour of comfort and beauty, to estimate the principles of fitness by which the architects of Africa are governed. From the unvarying style of the buildings, to which the lapse of ages has probably brought no improvement, one might imagine that they have been guided solely by a better kind of animal instinct, and that they have never departed from the lesson first taught them by nature. The houses are totally devoid of everything which we look for in a dwelling, with the exception of shelter from sun and rain. There is a decided difference between those of the inhabitants of the Delta and of the interior. The former are invariably oblong, with gable ends, built of stakes, filled in with mud, and thatched;

usually occupying two, and sometimes three sides of a court, the other being closed by a palisade with a gate, and adorned by the shady and graceful banana and cocoa-nut. Some of these are neat, but they are generally small and huddled together, as if ground rent were high.

In the interior, that is to say, above the Delta, and beginning at Adda-Mugu, the huts are all circular, and although small, the occupant does not stint himself in number, as many are comprised in one establishment. The roof is constructed on the ground, of the stout, light and tapering ribs of the palm-branch; the thatch, neatly woven like a fringe with grass, is wound round it, beginning, of course, at the bottom; the whole is then placed and secured on the circular mud wall. There is but little difference in any, whether in a capital city or a village—the residences of great chiefs or of the poorest peasant differ merely in the amount of huts composing the establishment, which always depends on the number of wives possessed by the occupier. They are all so nearly alike, that the description of one with which we were acquainted—that of a Dilàl or broker—will give a very fair idea of the general domestic economy.

This dwelling was divided into three courts, of irregular form and size; apparently thrown together without any plan, being merely enclosures made by joining with a low wall the circular huts, which seem dropped by accident. Each contains usually but one room—sometimes, however, a small space is partitioned

off for a store or lumber closet—they are very rarely of two stories. A few have flat ceilings, of the ribs of palm-branches laid diagonally, but they are mostly open to the apex of the high conical thatched roof. The floor is of mud, sometimes tessellated with broken pieces of earthenware jars, more frequently, however, of the rough uneven ground. The only admission of light and air is by a small doorway, with the upper part so low, and the threshold so high, that a stranger is very likely to pay his respects to the "Penates" by breaking his head and his shins at the same time. Some huts have two of these inconvenient apertures, but when such is the case, it is for the purpose of communication from one court to another. Of this kind is invariably the outer or entrance-hut; in the Haussa language, the "Zauli" An individual hut is called a "Daïki," an assemblage of them, forming one dwelling, "Giddah." They are only used for sleeping and cooking in when the weather is bad, for grinding corn, storehouses of grain, &c. The proprietors always eat in the open air. Some have verandahs—formed by the projecting thatch—under which the master of the house luxuriates with his friends, but while they send forth volumes of smoke, they do not appear to have met for the interchange of ideas.

The huts are built of roundish lumps of sun-dried clay, covered with mud, coloured sometimes with indigo, and ornamented round the entrance with circles and zigzags, stamped in the soft mud. When there is a door, it is carved in the same elaborate manner, sometimes with a

sketch of a crocodile; the fastening is a bolt and a rude padlock. These, however, are rarely required. We passed on one occasion through the large and populous city of Rabbah at midnight without meeting a single individual, and every house appeared to be open. There is something like luxury in the clean-swept courts, tessellated with broken pottery: some pieces of a more showy kind adorn the thresholds. This was eminently the case with the 'Giddah,' of *Mistress* Barijìh; a respectable elderly spinster, with whom we had engaged lodgings at Fandah; but the King commanded her not to receive us, as he claimed the exclusive privilege of making us comfortable or uncomfortable, and unfortunately his tastes had a tendency to the latter. Barijìh's house was a perfect labyrinth of clean shady courts and huts, with jars of deliciously cool water; although there were no other inmates than herself and an old woman, her servant. Around the cookery corner are calabashes and earthen pots of various forms, and machines for pounding the red wood with which they adorn or medicate themselves.

Sheep, goats and fowls enjoy, and seem to claim, the full benefit of the premises. The peculiar domicile of the poultry is under the granary hut, which is always raised considerably from the ground, for the purpose of ventilation, and an aperture left for the brood, as a ready refuge from the numerous hawks which are continually sailing about. Many large *Fulvous vultures* are commonly seen perched on the apex of the conical roofs,

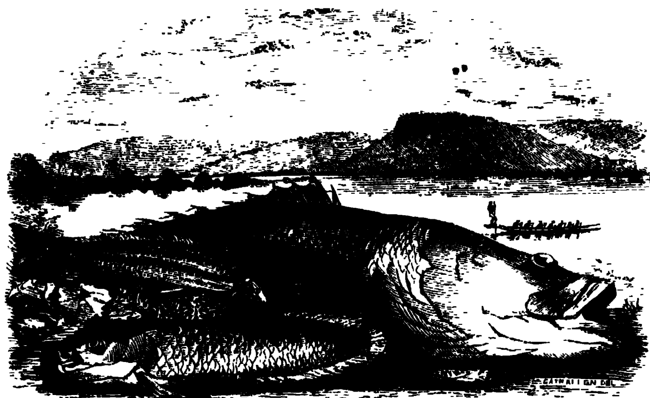
which are terminated by a bundle of sticks, apparently put in the thatch for their accommodation. They remain in patient contemplation of what passes in the court below, and very soon rid it of any offal that may be thrown about.

Corn is ground by the women in a hut appropriated solely to this purpose, the apparatus consists merely of two pieces of stone, a "slab and muller:" having undergone the process of trituration by a succession of these stones of different texture, it is converted into fine-flour, which, however, retains much of the grit.

The apparatus used for cooking is very simple. Three broken jars are placed upside down, to support the vessel containing the viands, and the fire is made between them. Very little skill, however, is required in the preparation of food, their principal subsistence being on yams, roasted Indian-corn, tuah—which is a sort of pudding, made of the grain, Dauer or Ghiro—and rice; which they boil to perfection. Yams are very fine, and are eaten roasted, or pounded until they become like a stiff dough, this is called "Fofo," and is an excellent way of preparing them; towards the latter end of the dry season this admirable vegetable becomes scarce, and small dried chips of it are sold in the market very dear. Little cakes are carried about by young girls, made of the flour of Dauer, or of Indian-corn, mixed with honey and abundance of pepper, rolled up in balls, or in long pieces, and half-boiled; but they are sometimes fried with palm-oil. Rarely they indulge themselves with a "hot chop"—a stew of meat or fish, with

the gravy highly seasoned and enriched by a great quantity of red pepper and palm-oil.

A favourite mess of the Haussa people, who, if Mahomedans, do not drink beer, is made from the flour of Indian corn, into a sort of hasty pudding or "sowens." It is called "Koko," and is both meat and drink to them; a small calabash full, which costs about the twentieth part of a penny, with the addition of a piece of dried yam, will frequently furnish a meal, especially for the women. Men never eat with their wives, and kings cannot be seen at their refections by subjects; being supposed probably to subsist on things less gross than those which will nourish common flesh and blood. The natives are much employed in fishing. Some of their methods of proceeding have been alluded to (page 200), but we can unfortunately add little to this part of Natural History, as we could procure few of the fishes in a raw state. The accompanying cut



is from sketches made by Captain W. Allen on the former Expedition: they were recognised by Professor Agassiz, who pronounced them to be very interesting, never having been before found in the rivers of Western Africa. The largest is of the genus *Lates*, the specimen had been speared by one of the natives; it weighed seventy pounds; was four feet four inches in length, and seventeen inches in the broadest part. It is very fine and delicate in its flavour. The next is of the genus *Sudis*, twenty-seven inches in length, called by the natives at the confluence "Kuanta'n Kaswa," "Sleep in the Market," because it keeps longer fresh than any other of the finny tribe: nothing can exceed the flavour of this fish. The third genus, *Mormyrus*, is twenty-two inches long, and is rather indifferent eating.

The Pagans drink a great deal of palm-wine and beer, and consider that which is made from the corn, Ghiro, (*Milium*), as the most delicate in its flavour, but we preferred the brown beer made from Dauer (a *Sorghum*), particularly if drunk on the second day, as they have no substitute for hops. They have also an intoxicating liquor called Bam. The Musselmen profess to follow the injunctions of the prophet, and abstain from beer and bam; they have a great contempt for such as use these beverages, but they cannot be expected to conform to the law in respect of our wines and spirits, since they never had an opportunity of knowing what the Koran means by them, until we opened their understanding, and still they are slow to believe that they transgress in drinking copiously

whenever they can get rum. At the sea-side, King Boy and his royal relatives would swallow vast quantities of it undiluted, but as we* advanced in the interior, more unsophisticated palates were found, and it would gradually bear more water, until moderately strong grog had a very potent effect.

Nothing can be more unjust than our assumption that the natives of Africa are devoid of civilization. It is true that the inhabitants of many parts of the coast, and principally at the mouths of large rivers, where they havehad, *proh pudor*, most intercourse with the whites, are indeed, deserving the name of savages. With these and the re-captured slaves only of the interior, who are mostly of the lowest classes, or have been enslaved very young, we have been hitherto acquainted. It is, however, very different the farther we go into the interior, where a great degree of politeness is found; all are particularly punctilious in salutations and greetings, which they seem never to be tired of repeating. Near the coast, the common expression used in saluting was "'n-dòh," repeated many times, accompanied by a peculiar snap of the fingers. After leaving the Delta, polite visitors appear to try which can continue the longest saying the Haussa word "Sinùh," "prosperity;" or "Koni lathia," "how is your health?" or, "Barkah," "a blessing," &c. At the same

* This was on the First Expedition. In that of 1841, no spirits were given to the natives.

time touching the others' hands, and then placing their own on the head, nose, or heart. As a mark of great respect, men prostrate themselves, strike their heads against the ground, "Bugu di Kaï," and cover them repeatedly with sand; or at all events they go through the motions of doing so. Women, on perceiving their friends, kneel immediately, and pretend to pour sand alternately over each arm. They continue the ceremony for a considerable time before they rise and approach, in order to hold "converse sweet." We have been much amused at seeing two ladies in the market-place saluting at a distance in this manner, during several minutes, looking like two sporting dogs making a *point*, they did not move their faces, but cast their eyes round now and then to see if the other showed symptoms of rising. Every one bends the knee slightly in passing a superior, and if there be but little room, permission to pass is always asked. On taking leave, they say, "Gaï di Giddah," "peace or welfare to the house." Slaves salute their masters the first thing in the morning prostrate before them, and saying all the complimentary things they can think of. In accosting us, they usually said, "Turawa," or "Baturi," "white man." Sometimes they called us "Baba, master," or "Malam doctor."

In the treatment of their women, notwithstanding this character for urbanity, the Africans approach much nearer to savages, since they reduce them to the condition of slaves. A Filatah would even show more grief for the loss of a favourite slave, or of his horse

than of one of his wives, unless she were the favourite for the time being. A beneficial change in this, must be among the first that can be hoped for, in the amelioration of the social system.

Every one who has visited Africa, must have been astonished at the number of languages to be met with. We at first thought, from the facility with which the pilots understood the natives everywhere, that there was not much difference from the mouth of the river to the confluence, but that possibly every town might have its dialect, differing slightly from the parent tongue. This, however, was found not to be the case, as great readiness of communication is acquired in constant attendance at the markets, where the confusion of tongues might vie with Babel itself. Africans have a great talent for learning languages, at least those of their neighbours. Al Hadgi, our pilot, could speak fluently nine or ten; and we had a little boy, not more than fourteen years of age, who could interpret from four or five. Although they may be very different as to words, the acquirement of several of them by the natives is rendered easy by the circumstance of the great similarity of idiom; and they are all, perhaps, equally poor, which presents a great obstacle to their learning our languages, as well as to our proficiency, or rather, we should say, to our first advances in theirs.

The Haussa language, which is the general means of intercourse, is sweet and flowing, abounding in vowels, and has few or no harsh sounds or gutturals; like all

the others, however, of this part of Africa, it is very poor. For instance, the word "dushi" signifies a mountain, a rock, stone, gun-flint, bead, &c. On the other hand, we may say that there is no want of volubility, and, on some occasions, there appeared to be great powers of oratory displayed. Our acquaintance with this language was too limited to enable us to detect inflexions, cases, genders, &c., and the only instance of grammatical construction that we can speak positively to, is the use of the particle 'n to show the possessive case, or the relation of one thing to another, as "Saliki-'n bekki-'n ruah." The king of the dark water.

The original dress on the coast was simply a "grass cloth," worn like a kilt. This has given place to cotton or silk pocket handkerchiefs, for the same purpose; while those who can afford it, indulge in the splendour of a striped cotton shirt and worsted cap.

Beyond the Delta, the people are better clothed in the native costume; European articles of dress being rare. Though the very poor have merely a small piece of cotton cloth round the waist, or even skins, especially on the borders of the Chadda, those in better circumstances, add a piece of cotton, called in Haussa "Zani," nearly three yards long and a yard and a half wide, of native manufacture, either blue, white, or striped, with sometimes a little red, or chequered. It is worn in a great variety of ways, but is always graceful. We saw many men who had draped them-

selves like the finest statues of antiquity. The rich wear a very full dress, called in the Haussa language, "Rigah," or shirt; also "Tobo, Toba, *Toga* or Itoga." It is made like a surplice, with very large open sleeves, the arm-hole, in fact, reaches from the shoulder to within two inches of the bottom of the dress. The common *tobes* are white, blue, or chequered; the latter is called "Rigah'n Zabbo," from its being speckled like a guinea-fowl. The best kind have sometimes a green or red silk stripe. On particular occasions, the richest people and kings wear silk tobes, which are brought by the Arabs across the Desert. Cotton tobes vary in price from ten to sixty, and even a hundred thousand cowries, those with a red silk stripe are the dearest. All are worked or embroidered in front with silk or cotton. When a blue tobe is worn, a white one is generally put on beneath it, as the indigo, not being well fixed, comes off and *soils* the skin. They are never washed, but are worn until they become both of a colour, and drop off in rags. Turkish trowsers, a scarlet cap, and sandals, complete the dress of a gentleman of the first rank and fashion. The Filatahs, when riding, wear boots. Women of all classes dress nearly alike, that is with a country cloth or zani round the waist, and another over or under the shoulders, according to the state of the weather or the lady's taste. A piece of cotton is also neatly folded round the head. They plait their woolly hair in a variety of curious forms, close to the head, and plaster

it thickly with indigo. Those ladies, who from their rank in the domestic circle, are exempt from hard work, dye their hands and feet with henna, and tinge their eyelids with antimony. The men either shave the head entirely, and expose their shining scalps to the sun, or they cut and carve it in a curious fashion. Youth of both sexes, with the exception of Filatah children, are entirely without clothing till the age of puberty. Young girls wear a string of beads or cowries round their loins, but their innate modesty is as manifest as their persons.

Above Ibu, the anklets of ivory are not in fashion, but of copper, ornamented with brass, and bracelets of the same are much in vogue. Pieces of coral are frequently stuck in the ears, and the great men wear thin circular pieces of ivory, about the size of a dollar, in each ear. Amulets, "magoni," are in great request, and worn in profusion by those who can afford to pay the priest for writing them. They are supposed to be verses of the Koran, sewn up in leather, variously ornamented, and are not only believed to be preservatives against all kinds of danger, but to be the means of procuring every gratification that the wearer can desire. Although they must be continually disappointed, it is surprising they are not tired of waiting for the proofs of their virtues. The fruition is always in expectancy.

Women are commonly employed in the petty retail trade about the country; they also do a great deal of hard work, especially in the cultivation of the land.

Agriculture is almost wholly neglected at the sea-coast, for which, indeed, the swampy nature of the land is a sufficient excuse. The Brass people consequently depend on the trade with Ibu for a supply of yams. In ascending from the mouth of the river, small patches of cleared bank appear near the villages for the growth of plantain ; they are surrounded by an impenetrable forest where the palm-trees grow in amazing numbers. The cocoa-nut tree is found only near villages, which proves them not to be indigenous, according to Dr. Vogel. At Egabòh and Ibu, yams are raised in great quantities; the former is called, *par excellence*, the yam country. No corn is produced in these parts, indeed, there is no room for it. From Iddah towards the interior, agriculture is much more actively carried on. Cotton, of short staple, is grown in limited quantity, for their own consumption; also tobacco of very mild quality, and indigo of a superior kind. In articles for food, excellent yams, in great abundance, maize, rice, and several other kinds of corn called Dauer, (*Sorghum*), Ghiro, (*Milium*), and Atchàh, the latter, called Teff in Abyssinia, is a small grain, and makes delicious puddings. There are two qualities of rice, one coarse and red, the other very small and white. The only implements of husbandry were a hoe and a sort of pick-axe. In the beginning of the wet season, the hills echo to the cheerful song and laugh of the cultivators of the soil. The song, indeed, occupies much more time

than work, as they leave off after two or three strokes to continue it. No people seem happier, yet they are nearly all slaves. Domestic slavery, however, is as different as possible from our horrible ideas of that state, or rather from the state to which the wants of civilization have brought it. In their native land it is not more irksome than servitude in ours.

The strongest characteristic of the inhabitants of the interior of Africa is the love of traffic; it is indeed the ruling passion, which, if rightly developed, may become the instrument for raising them in the scale of nations.

Every town has a market, generally once in four days; but the principal feature is in the large fairs held at different points on the river, about once a fortnight, for what may be called their foreign trade, or intercourse with neighbouring nations. They are professedly held sacred, whatever wars may be in the land; and cheering, indeed, to humanity would it be —in this hot-bed of violence and rapine, where every man's hand is raised against his fellow, and where every one tries to enslave his neighbour—to know the existence of such a *trêve-dieu,* devoted to the exercise of peaceful commercial intercourse. But they have had their neutrality frequently invaded by the avarice and tyranny of neighbouring princes, against whose cupidity or caprice there is no guarantee. The pertinacity with which, notwithstanding these violations, the traders return, is a striking proof of the deeply-rooted

propensity. With this we might work wonders; but the habits and practices of the natives are so different to our method of dealing, that it is useless to expect rapid results and advantages. The principal difference between the European and the African merchant would be, not so much in the value of their commodities, for that would find its level, but in the estimate of time, of which the Negro has no conception. The disposal of a small cargo of merchandise from England, for which the speculator would expect immediate return, would, according to the present tardy method of the country, occupy the brokers for years. As much time is consumed, and as many words are wasted, in the purchase of a few yams or a fowl, as in that of a large elephant's tooth. Frequently when the bargain appears to be concluded, the "dilàls" will change their minds, both as to the price, and the nature of the goods they wish to take in exchange: never appearing to have determined the amount of profit with which they will be satisfied. As, however, the goods offered were totally new, they could not form a just estimate of their value. The "dilàl," or broker, always asked, in the first instance, more than treble the value of his commodities, and expected our traders would do the same. It was, perhaps, owing to the repugnance which Lander had to demanding more than he intended to take, that many of the goods became deteriorated in the estimation of the native merchants. They think it presumption of the seller if he

expect to get the price put on his goods, however fair and reasonable it may be. This makes it very difficult for an Englishman to trade with the native broker. For instance, one thousand cowries were asked for some beautiful coronation medals, and they were readily bought up at Rabbah, on the supposition that they were silver; but, when on inquiring from Mr. Lander, they found they were not, they brought them, requesting him to take them back, which he, being desirous to establish a credit for honourable dealing, consented to do; and it is a curious fact, that, not being able to repay them at the time in cowries, he gave promissory notes, merely I. O. U., with his signature, which were redeemed when Lander had obtained cowries by the sale of other goods. If three or four thousand had been demanded for these medals, in the first instance, they would have been more sought after; as it was, nobody would have them at any price, and they expected to get silver dollars for about a shilling.

As the object of our last visit to Africa was not commercial, we may be excused if we do not give a very business-like account of the resources of the country, though it will perhaps be expected, while treating of the trading propensities of the natives, that some mention should be made of the principal articles which were brought for sale, with the prices usually paid for them, in cowries.

First in the estimation of the native trader—paying

tribute in inverse ratio to the dignity of their fellow-creatures—are the unfortunates doomed to perpetual slavery; and although, happily, with us man is not now recognised as a legitimate object for barter, it will perhaps be interesting to know what value is set upon him in the land of his fathers, where he has ceased, as it were, to be a rational being, and has become a thing to be bought.

A young female slave would fetch from sixty to one hundred and twenty thousand cowries. She must, however, to command the highest price, be beautiful; in which respect, however, European and African taste is somewhat different. A fine charger may command about the same price.* A strong well-grown young man is worth from thirty to fifty thousand cowries. A boy, pony, ox for burthen, a donkey, or common working slave from ten to thirty thousand.

Although no gold was brought to us for sale, it is perhaps in abundance in the interior, and within the regions rendered accessible by the Rivers Kwares and Tchadda. According to Idrisi, Wangara was one of the most celebrated countries for this metal.

The most valuable article now for legitimate trade is ivory. This was bought at the Confluence, one thousand to one thousand five hundred cowries per pound. A higher price was put upon it at Iddah, being nearer to the sea-

* These *articles*, if prime, are generally disposed of by private contract at the houses of the merchants, and are not exposed to the indignity of the market.

coast, where the palm-oil captains usually gave treble that sum. At Rabbah it could be bought at five hundred cowries; but there was little to be had, and the King did not appear much disposed to trade, unless he had it all in his own hands. These prices were, of course, for large and good teeth; scrivelloes could be had for about half.

Indigo of a very superior quality, but in a very dirty state, was brought in abundance at Egga, made up in balls a little larger than one's fist, at the rate of about five cowries each, or about one hundred and eighty for a shilling. The dye obtained from it is of a very rich coppery hue, but the natives do not know how to fix it. Although in its present state, it is hardly worth the carriage, yet by proper care it might become a valuable article of commerce.

Tobacco, of a very mild and agreeable flavour, is sold at about a halfpenny per pound. The leaves when dried are plaited, and made up in coils, weighing from six to ten pounds. It is grown in very great quantities.

Provisions were cheap enough when we could get them. A small piece of scarlet cloth, which cost, invoice price, eighteen pence, would furnish more than enough for one day's consumption for ten men.

A small bullock cost from seven to fifteen thousand cowries. A milch goat could seldom be had for less than two thousand. A sheep or goat from one to two thousand; the latter are more abundant and cheaper than sheep, although not remarkable for fatness. The

Haussa sheep are immense animals, with very long legs. They, of course, are clothed with hair instead of wool; the rams have long shaggy manes, and are sometimes very large; they cost from six thousand to ten thousand cowries each. Fowls, one hundred or one hundred and fifty each. Ducks are very fine, like the muscovy breed, three or four hundred each; they come from Yarriba, as do also the geese and turkies, and are called Kasa-n-Yarriba, or Yarriba fowls; they are scarce.

Eggs cost about five cowries each; but this is a nominal price, as they are rarely to be had good.

Yams vary in price, according to the time of year; in the season, however, they are from eight to ten pounds for one hundred cowries. Rice, one pound for fifty cowries. Beer, a jar containing two or three gallons, one hundred cowries.*

Fruit was not brought to us frequently. We saw, indeed, only bananas, plantains, a few oranges, limes, and pine-apples. Bananas were in the greatest abundance; pine-apples were only brought during a fortnight in May, and we could never afterwards procure any: they were extremely fine.

These, with earthenware jars, calabashes, cotton

* These are the prices paid in 1833, when we were under the displeasure of the Attàh. The favour of his successor enabled Mr. Carr to establish a much lower tariff. See page 130.

cloths, and grass mats of native manufacture, were the principal things brought to the markets.

The mountains about the Confluence are highly ferruginous. At Sterling Hill, the peroxide of iron occurs in great abundance, in the form of pea-iron ore, of a very beautiful character. The natives, however, do not know how to profit by it.

Copper is found in Haussa, but where, we could not learn. At Fandah there were coppersmiths, who smelt it. We saw a great deal of dross lying about, but we sought in vain the apparatus or the mineral in its original state. Whether the manufacturer suspected us of some sinister intention of depriving him of it by the magical power they all believed us to possess, or that he did not understand our imperfectly interpreted wishes, we cannot say; but after leading us to different huts, we only saw a quantity of dross, and the sheet copper of which he was making bowls of pipes.

Trona, which is a kind of alkali, is brought from Haussa. Salt, very bad and dirty, is said to come from Bishi.

The above catalogue is not very tempting to the European merchant; but it must be remembered that it comprises merely the articles in demand among themselves, with the exception of slaves and ivory, which are for the foreign market. It is, however, sufficient to know, that it is a fertile country, situate in a tropical climate, to be certain that it has immense natural pro-

ductions, which are essential to our manufactures and commerce.

The immense primeval forests furnish inexhaustible treasures. In addition to the palm-tree, magnificent timber for ship-building, and other purposes, in great variety; gums, shea butter, many kinds of wood for dying, peppers, nuts of different kinds, &c.; besides the animated tenants of the woods, which would furnish ivory, skins, feathers, bees' wax, &c. These are a few of the spontaneous productions; besides which, a vast quantity of cleared land would be available for increased cultivation of coffee, sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, cotton, &c.

We will enumerate some of the principal goods offered by Lander for sale, in the commercial expedition of 1832-3.

Arms and ammunition of every kind were eagerly sought after; but, as our object is to encourage their peaceable habits, these should not be presented to them. They would also freely take in barter, woollen cloths, scarlet, green, and yellow; Manchester printed cottons, beads of various kinds, looking-glasses, cutlery, paper, salt, &c.

Of these the following would generally bear a good per centage, but others would hardly realize the cost price:—

Scarlet cloth could be sold at from three to four hundred per cent, invoice price.

Green cloth one or two hundred per cent.

Yellow cloth, rather more.

Cotton velvets, good profit but varying.

Looking-glasses, small, one hundred and fifty per cent.

Large ones were not so profitable.

Red beads varied in price.

Blue ditto, sold badly.

The most uncertain were the Manchester goods; sometimes they were bought very freely, while at others they were little disposed to have them. However, as soon as they found there were but few left, they rose rapidly in estimation. As they manufacture good cottons themselves, page 322, of simple blue and white, the principal attraction in ours was the gay colours.

The greatest profit was on salt; we cannot say at what per centage, but it was very great. It is, indeed, the article which must bring the most sure return, as it is for immediate consumption, and the natives have no other means of supply than that from Bishi, which is dear and bad; so that they ate our beautiful white salt like sugar.

In general it may be said, that the most inferior goods were sold at the greatest profit, which diminished in proportion to the increase of the cost price; so that good and expensive articles found no sale whatever, although they admired them excessively when offered as presents. Very erroneous expectations had been formed of the quantity and price of ivory; but there is no doubt more than treble the quantity could have been had if, instead

of limiting the price, all had been bought at the market-price, which, perhaps, would not have much exceeded for the finest teeth eighteen pence per pound. As it was, these were almost invariably taken away when the dilàls found that they could not get their price. Although they were very much disposed to barter, cowries were almost preferred as a medium; that is, the goods on either side were first turned into cowries.

Here, then, we have an immense and highly productive country, at no great distance from our shores, and which even may be said to diminish daily by the improvements in steam navigation. The nations inhabiting this valuable region are already desirous of being supplied with our manufactures, a great assortment of which they became acquainted with by the commercial expedition of 1832. Experience indeed shewed that a large portion was not suited to the market; since the Negroes, having naturally but very few wants, are slow to believe that they require articles of which as yet they cannot comprehend the utility; but these would increase with improved intercourse.

If the only interchangeable commodities were salt and palm-oil, a profitable trade might be extended to the interior; and yet with such vast resources and capabilities on both sides, the exports from the greatest commercial country in the world, which is seeking an outlet on all sides for its manufactures is less than half a million sterling!

APPENDIX.

VICTORIA REG.

Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our trusty and well-beloved Henry Dundas Trotter, Esquire, Captain in our Royal Navy, William Allen and Bird Allen, Esquires, Commanders in our Royal Navy, and William Cook, Esquire, greeting. We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Integrity, and Ability, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you and each of you to be our Commissioners to proceed to Africa, and there to make and conclude with the Chief Rulers on the western coast thereof, and in the River Niger, such arrangements or agreements as you shall be empowered by Us, or by One of our Principal Secretaries of State on Our behalf, to propose to the said Chiefs, to the end of obtaining their concurrence in the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, and in the establishment of lawful Commerce between our Subjects and the Natives of the countries aforesaid. And We do hereby require all our Officers, Ministers, and loving Subjects, to be aiding and assisting

to you, and each of you, in the execution of this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the Fifteenth day of September, One thousand eight hundred and forty, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

J. RUSSELL.

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, and William Cook, Esquire, Commissioners for making and concluding Agreements with the Chief Rulers of the Western Coast of Africa, for the Suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, and the establishment of a lawful Commerce.

No. I.

Downing Street, January 30, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,

Her Majesty being earnestly desirous to put down entirely that traffic in slaves, and to substitute, instead thereof, a friendly commercial intercourse between her Majesty's subjects and the natives of Africa; and her Majesty having determined to send persons of trust to open a communication with the native African Chiefs, and where it shall appear expedient to conclude, in her Majesty's name, with those chiefs, agreements calculated to attain the salutary objects above declared. Her Majesty has been pleased to approve, that an Expedition shall be sent for this purpose to the several African states, which are situated on or near the sea coast, within the Bights of Benin and Biafra, or within the mouths of the chief rivers, which open into the said Bights, and up and within the River Niger and its tributary streams, as far as they shall be navigable for steamers of the size

and draught of those which may accompany and form part of the Expedition; or, in the event of the Niger and its tributaries not proving navigable for vessels of this size and draught, to proceed, either by land or water, to any place or places on their banks, or to any countries lying within a distance convenient to be reached, where, in the opinion of the Commissioners named in the accompanying Commission, it may be important and advisable to treat with the native chiefs, in conformity with the main objects of this Expedition: and her Majesty having the fullest trust and confidence in your tried fidelity, zeal for the service, your prudence and ability, has, by the accompanying Commission under her Royal Sign Manual, been pleased to appoint you to be the Commissioners, to accompany and form part of the Expedition for the aforesaid purpose described; and her Majesty has further been pleased to command me to give you the following instructions for your guidance:—

1. I am, in the first instance, commanded to impress upon you her Majesty's injunctions, that you act always, and in all points respecting your commission, cordially and in unison with each other. You will not withhold from each other the free expression of any variance of opinion; but you will distinctly understand, that if, after due consideration, you cannot agree, the opinion of that gentleman is to prevail, whose name stands first in the Commission which her Majesty has been pleased to give to you.

In such event, however, each dissentient will, if he sees sufficient reason, record, in writing, his opinion, for the information of her Majesty's Government.

2, 3. The first commission, as commander of the naval portion of the Expedition, consisting of three of her Majesty's steam-vessels, built expressly for this service, commanded respectively by the first, second, and third Commissioners, will receive instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to take on board the fourth Commissioner, and proceed to the River Niger, touching at Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle.

4. You will deliver to her Majesty's Governor of Sierra Leone, the letter addressed to him, which accompanies these instructions, you will explain to him and to her Majesty's Commissioners of the mixed Commission Courts established in that colony, the

objects of your Commission; you will request them to afford to you such information and advice as they can give towards assisting you in the accomplishment of those objects; the substance of which information you will forward to this office, and you will preserve all written communications.

5. You are at liberty to select at Sierra Leone, or at any part of the African continent, within the limit of your Commission, and to take with you, as volunteers, any native Africans, or persons of African descent, whom you may meet with there, and who, in your opinion, may be likely to be of use to you as interpreters, or otherwise, and who may be willing to accompany you on a fair and moderate remuneration, which you are hereby authorized to make to them for their services on this Commission, provided that such remuneration does not exceed the amount allowed in the Parliamentary Grant.

6. On your arrival at Cape Coast Castle, you will deliver the accompanying letter to Mr. Maclean, the President of the Court of Magistrates of that settlement. You will explain to him the objects of your Commission, and you will obtain from him what information you can respecting the present state of those neighbouring parts of Africa to which your Commission extends, particularly the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and respecting any other matters which may be of use to you towards the attainment of the objects of your Commission.

7. In case you visit Fernando Po, you will find that the gentlemen entrusted with the management of the concerns of the British Commercial establishment there, is in possession of an instruction from the West African Company, of which I annex a copy, and you will obtain from him what information you can for facilitating the objects of your Commission.

8. Arrangements will be made by the Admiralty for the purpose of enabling you, on your arrival at the mouth of the Niger, to proceed with the least possible delay through the unhealthy marshes of the Delta, till you reach Eboe, where you will immediately commence operations, with the view to the execution of the principal objects of your Commission. From that point you will begin to visit as you proceed, and prosecute those objects with the several native chiefs in succession, up to the highest

point of the Niger and its tributaries, which you may be able to reach. But, if circumstances with which her Majesty's Government are not acquainted, should, in your opinion, render it expedient to change the order in which it is otherwise prescribed to you to make those visits, you are at liberty to do so. You will, however, in case of making any such alteration, transmit to me, for the information of her Majesty's Government, as occasion offers, a statement of the reasons which have weighed with you in that proceeding.

9. Her Majesty's Government do not limit to any particular period, your stay at one place; but you will consider it as an indispensable instruction, not to continue so long at any one place as to risk the successful prosecution of the objects of your Commission at the remainder.

10. On your arrival at each native settlement, you will ascertain the proper mode for opening a communication with the chief; and in all your intercourse with him, you will take care that you are treated by him with proper respect; and you will not neglect, also, to treat him with the respect which is due to the rank which belongs to him.

11. You will tell the chief, that you are sent by the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, to express her Majesty's wish to establish friendly relations with him, and to settle and agree with him for the extinction of the foreign traffic in slaves in his dominions; and for the substitution, instead thereof, of a full and free intercourse and barter of all articles of innocent trade between the subjects of her Majesty and those of such Chief, for his profit and advantage, and for the mutual use and comfort and benefit of the subjects of both countries. You will ask him what articles he and his subjects are in want of, and you will express generally the readiness of this country to supply them. You will ask him what articles of trade he and his subjects wish to dispose of, and you will express generally the readiness of this country to purchase them. You will inquire what further articles of native growth, or produce, or manufacture his country can supply, as articles of useful export trade with Great Britain, and you will encourage him to the cultivation or production thereof, by expressing generally the readiness of this country to take off his

hands, on fair and reasonable terms of barter, all such articles of useful trade for this country, as he can supply, in return for all such articles of use and comfort, and advantage to himself, as he requires.

12. You will show to him the advantages of putting down the foreign Slave Trade, and of building upon that abolition a lawful and innocent trade. You will say to him, that his subjects will thereby be induced to cultivate the soil, to value their habitations, to increase their produce, and to behave well, in order to keep the advantage which that produce will give to them; that they will thus become better subjects and better men, and that his possessions will thus become more full of what is valuable. You will impress upon him, that he himself will no longer need to make, or to keep up quarrels with his neighbours, or to undertake distant and dangerous wars, or to seek out causes of punishment to his own subjects, for the sake of producing from the odious trade in slaves an income to himself.

You will explain to him, that the people of this country will, out of the produce of labour in cultivating, gathering, and preparing articles for trade, bring to him more revenues, and be consequently more valuable to him.

13. You will tell him that her Majesty, desirous to make that innocent commerce, which is a benefit to all nations, a peculiar benefit to himself, proposes that, upon his abolishing the Slave Trade, not only he and his subjects shall have this free and advantageous commerce, but that he himself shall have, for his own share, and without any payment on his part, a sum not exceeding one twentieth part value of every article of British merchandize brought by British ships and sold in his dominions; such proportion to be taken by himself, without any reference to the amount of articles for which the remaining nineteen twentieths shall be bartered with him or with his subjects; and you will make agreements with him on this subject conformable, as far as possible, with the draft agreement. You will, where possible, stipulate in return for a free right of barter for his subjects, and the abolition of any monopoly in his own favour, should such exist.

14. While explaining to the Chief the profit to be derived from

the cultivation of the soil, you will not fail, on all proper occasions, so far as you may deem it expedient and compatible with the main objects of your mission, to draw his attention to the superior advantages of Free over Slave Labour; to impress upon him the impolicy, as well as the injustice of slavery, and to acquaint him with the abhorrence in which it is held by her Majesty and the people of England. You may remind him of the large tracts of waste land in his possession; state how unprofitable they are to him at present, and inform him, that if he could procure such land to be cultivated by his subjects on a system of free labour, he would be justly entitled to receive a considerable share of the increased profits; far more than enough to counterbalance all the profits which could possibly arise from the continuance of the Slave Trade. You may further remind him, that every man naturally works harder for himself than for another, and is more economical and more careful of his own property; consequently, that the produce of the country would be much greater by free labour than by any other system, and that he would derive a double advantage; first, from his share of the produce as a landlord, and afterwards from the duties he would get as Chief on the sale of the remainder. You may further intimate to him, that a compliance with the wish of her Majesty's Government and her people in this respect, would certainly increase her Majesty's interest in his welfare, and enable her Majesty and her people to render much greater assistance and encouragement in improving the condition of himself and his people, than could be afforded them during the continuance of a system of Slave labour. But you must always bear in mind that the main object of your Commission is the extinction of the Foreign Slave Trade, and all other points must for the present be considered subordinate.

15. You will, at the proper time, exhibit the presents with which you are furnished from Her Majesty, as proofs of the desire of friendship which the Queen entertains towards the Chief, and as samples of the articles, with which among others, this country will be glad to supply himself and his subjects in as great a quantity, as they shall want and wish, on fair and reasonable terms of barter.

You should not distribute these presents to any of the Chiefs, except in those cases where you are satisfied that the interests of the Commission in which you are employed imperatively require it; and further, you will also bear in mind the necessity of giving no more than is absolutely requisite; and especially with a view to avoid all possibility of in futura impeding ordinary traffic with British or other merchants. In case any of the Chiefs or Headmen of the country should be willing to make presents, you are authorized to exercise your discretion in receiving or rejecting the same; all presents received being for the use of Her Majesty.

16. You will finally propose to him an Agreement upon the basis of the Draft with which you are herewith furnished.

17. If, after earnestly discussing this matter with the Chief, you shall find that your arguments have not so far prevailed with him, as to induce him to enter into this Agreement for the extinction of the Foreign Slave Trade in his dominions; and if he shall resolutely resist your suggestions and the wishes of Her Majesty to that effect; you will entreat and urge him to reconsider this matter, you will ask him to assemble his elders or Headmen, and consult with them before he finally rejects the proposals made by you.

18. You will, if permitted to be present at such conference, declare that the Queen, your Sovereign, however powerful, is anxious only to promote peace and prosperity among them; that she offers them, through you, every advantage that they can want, and that she can give towards increasing, in a harmless and sure way, the wealth and power of the country; that you come but to ask them to give up the custom of exporting human beings as slaves, and, in return to offer them a more profitable substitute in innocent trade; that if they wish, moreover, any help towards the production of any article, or introduction of any commodity or art for the benefit of their country, your Sovereign is disposed to assist them, and her subjects will be willing to supply, at a moderate rate, what they desire; and that you will express to Her Majesty their wishes, and forward their views to that effect.

19. While you describe the power and wealth of your

country, you will, in all your interviews with the African Chiefs, and with other African natives, on the subject of the suppression of the Slave Trade, abstain carefully from any threat or intimation that hostilities upon their territory will be the result of their refusal to treat. You will state, that the Queen and people of England profess the Christian religion; that by this religion they are commanded to assist in promoting good-will, peace, and brotherly love, among all nations and men; and that, in endeavouring to commence a further intercourse with the African nations, Her Majesty's Government are actuated and guided by these principles. You will make allowance for the motives of fear, of distrust, of jealousy, of suspicion, by which native Africans, unaccustomed to treat with Europeans, in this formal way, may at first naturally view the overtures made to them. You will make allowance also for the misunderstanding either of language, of manner, or of conduct, or of your object in seeking intercourse with them; you will also allow for any hardness of feeling you may witness in them on the subject of Slave Trade, a hardness naturally engendered by the exercise of that traffic, and perhaps, in some cases, increased by intercourse with the lowest and basest of Europeans. You will endeavour to convince them by courtesy, by kindness, by patience and forbearance, of your most persevering desire to be on good terms with them: and you will be most careful to exhibit no signs of needless mistrust. You will, on all occasions, keep a strict watch so that no mischief may from open force, or secret wile of the natives, ensue to the lives, liberties and properties of yourselves, and of others committed to your care; and with this view, you will be careful to be provided with adequate means for defence as far as possible; but you will on no account, have recourse to arms, excepting for the purpose of defence, and you will bear in mind that the language and conduct prescribed to you in this paragraph, is that which you are to observe on all occasions in the course of your Commission.

20. If after all your attempts to attain the immediate object of your Commission you shall fail in it, you will conclude by telling the Chief and his Headmen, that Her Majesty is bound to use all her naval means, in conformity with treaties already

entered into with other great powers, to endeavour entirely to put a stop to the exportation of Slaves, from the dominions of every African Chief, and that the Chief and his subjects will, when perhaps too late, see cause to regret their conduct.

21. In those cases, in which all your arguments and representations failing, you will have been obliged to leave the Chief and his country without accomplishing the immediate objects of your mission, you will be careful still, even at parting, to leave that chief and his country, in a friendly manner, in order to give room for future overtures, and for a reconsideration of the kindly meant efforts of Her Majesty; and you will, if time and circumstances allow it, take an opportunity of visiting again those Chiefs who, in your first visit declined your overtures, and strengthened by the weight which your success elsewhere may have given to your negociations, you will again urge the Chiefs to conclude an agreement on the before-mentioned basis of the abolition of the Slave Trade.

22. In those cases in which you shall succeed in inducing the Chief to make an agreement on the basis proposed, you will, where necessary, induce his Headmen to join in the agreement, and further urge him to make and proclaim immediately the law of Abolition of the Foreign Slave Trade; and if time will permit, you will stay to be witness of the immediate effects of the proceeding.

23. Two Stipulations are inserted at the end of the agreement, which is to be proposed to the African Chiefs, under the head of Additional terms for Special Cases.

These additional terms are not to be proposed to the African Chiefs generally, but to those Chiefs only to whom you may deem it especially expedient or desirable to submit such stipulations for their acceptance; and in no case are those additional terms, whether they shall be agreed to, wholly, or in part, to be inserted in the body of the agreement, but to be added to it as separate articles.

24. The first stipulation is for abolishing human sacrifices. Her Majesty's Government are anxious as a general principle, that you should show that your Government and yourselves respect the laws and usages and habits of the people you are

commanded to confer with. But in the case of human sacrifices, the doctrines of the Christian religion, as well as all natural principles of right and wrong, so utterly prohibit them, and the practice is so certain to perpetuate barbarism, and so calculated to prevent all safe and profitable communication, that you are authorized in this case to make an exception from the general rule of not interfering with the domestic institutions of each State.

Wherever, therefore you shall find that human sacrifices exist, you will earnestly entreat the Chief to consider the reasons for complying with the earnest wish of our Queen who desires their welfare, and who is so powerful a friend to them and to all whom she protects. You will, if necessary and prudent, assemble the Headmen, and urge to them as well as to the Chief, the considerations which should prompt them to abolish the practice, viz.:

The general and inevitable effect of human sacrifices in lessening the population; and the particular evil of the practice in depriving the country, at times, of persons the most serviceable to it, at the moment when they are most needed, the consequence in all cases of producing misery in the family from which the victim is selected; the utter subversion of all principles of justice, in taking away the life of any person without any offence having been committed by the individual; the feeling of general insecurity of life, which such a practice produces, and the necessary abhorrence of Him who has created all Men, to an act which is against every tie of human affection, and to a punishment which makes no distinction between innocence and crime.

You will earnestly entreat them to consider the great truths you have told them, and to break the bonds which chain them to this practice.

But you will insist on this point no further, than by anxious exhortation, and by affectionate advice; and should you fail at present, you will leave it to time, and repeated council, to produce a change so devoutly to be wished.

25. The second stipulation is for a purchase of land, for the erection of a Fort.

It is considered desirable by her Majesty's Government, to have

power to erect one or more small Forts on the Niger, from whence, and by means of which, to watch over the due execution of the agreements, to assist in the abolition of the Slave Trade, and to protect and further the innocent trade of her Majesty's subjects.

Bearing these views in mind, you will, in your course up that river, select some one or more appropriate spots for the erection of Forts for the above-mentioned purposes; and you will make with the Chief of the country a conditional bargain for the land, stating the purpose for which it is intended; you will pay down a small portion of the price, as security for the purchase and permission; and you will send or bring home, for the consideration and ultimate decision of her Majesty's Government, reports and drawings explanatory of the spot, and of its capabilities.

The spots should be chosen with reference both to defence and salubrity; to soil and to climate, not only of the spots themselves, but also of the immediate neighbourhood on both sides of the river; because the miasma from one side of the river will frequently, if carried by winds, produce diseases on the other side. They should be places where vessels may securely anchor, and ride in safety. They should be in situations to which natives are likely to resort for trade, and, if possible, in situations where natives have been accustomed to resort for that purpose. Means of a ready communication with the interior are also desirable for the positions, so that persons wishing to visit the interior from thence, for purposes of commerce, or otherwise, may there find facilities for those objects. They should be in a neighbourhood where supplies for vessels may be got, and in a country where the inhabitants are well disposed towards friendly communication with British subjects; and they will be preferably situated, if not far from some considerable mass of habitations. The establishment of a position near to the confluence of the rivers Niger and Tchadda, would, with its other advantages, have the additional and important one, that it would assist the British trade with both rivers.

26. You will promise to those Chiefs who shall sincerely aid in the views of her Majesty, in abolishing the Slave Trade, that you will do all in your power for their assistance and protection, in

case they shall be attacked by enemies for the faithful performance of the conditions of the agreement. But you will only make this promise where you see the prospect of being able effectually to perform it.

27. You will in every conference with African Chiefs, assure them that the Queen has ordered you on the service in which you are engaged, for the benefit and happiness of the African race.

28. You are to understand generally, that any agreement, of whatever nature, you shall enter into with African Chiefs, is to be held subject to her Majesty's sanction; and that a clause is to be inserted in, or added to, any such agreement, declaring that it is expressly reserved to her Majesty, to sanction, modify, or annul the same.

29. If several of the Chieftains could be induced to unite together, and bind themselves by one agreement to suppress the Slave Trade, such conjoint agreement would greatly conduce to effect the principal object of the mission. You are, therefore, to avail yourselves of every opportunity to persuade the Chiefs to adopt this measure; and further to procure, in such agreement, the insertion of proper conditions, to insure to the respective parties mutual protection from all aggressions which might arise from their uniting in such an engagement.

30. You yourselves will be careful to abstain during the whole course of your mission, from all barter, or other bargain for the purposes of commerce, either on your own part, or by or for others; and you will also take care not to mix up either her Majesty's Government or yourselves, in any way, in any commercial or agricultural speculation.

31. If the sovereignty over any country or place should be offered to Great Britain through you, you will engage to submit the proposal to your Sovereign.

32. You will also take care to be courteous and friendly towards the subjects of all civilized nations, whom you may meet in the course of your mission.

33. If at any place, in an independent state, within the range of your Commission, it shall appear to you to be desirable that a Resident Agent on the part of her Majesty shall be immediately

appointed, and enter on his duties, you are empowered to leave at such place provisionally, as British Resident Agent, any one of the gentlemen of your Commission, or of the officers or others of the Expedition, whom you may think competent and fitted to the duties of that situation. You may assure to such gentleman an allowance proportioned to the circumstances of his situation for one year only.

34. If, however, at such place, at which you are of opinion that a Resident Agent on the part of her Majesty would be desirable, you shall find any respectable British merchant, or factor, whom you shall see to be fit to be named provisionally British Resident Agent, you may appoint such person provisionally to that situation, subject to confirmation from home. It is supposed that the superior protection which this character will give to such a gentleman will be a sufficient compensation to him for his services.

35. In case you shall find that any Agents of foreign Chiefs or Powers shall be resident at the places at which you may touch, or that any negotiations are going on between the Chief you visit and other persons or Powers, you will endeavour to learn the purport of them, and the views of the respective parties to such negotiation, particularly with respect to the Slave Trade; and you will transmit these particulars to me.

36. You will make the commercial interests of Great Britain an object of your constant attention; you will countenance British subjects, trading innocently to the possessions of any Chief of that part of Africa to which your Commission extends; always, however, excepting merchants trading to those countries or possessions, the Chief whereof has declined to abolish the foreign Slave Trade. And if any British subjects, trading innocently, as aforesaid, to the Chiefs who shall have abolished the Trade in Slaves, should have any suit or pretension depending, you will endeavour to procure for them speedy justice. Yet, for the honour of her Majesty, you will confine your interference to such cases only as may deserve the interposition of her Majesty's name, for the proper relief of British subjects, and for their support in their just rights.

37. You will at every place you shall visit, collect, and after-

wards, as opportunities may occur, transmit to me the most accurate information you can obtain upon the Slave Trade, whether carried on by the Chief only, or by his subjects only, or by both; the income derived therefrom by the Chief; the average number of slaves shipped, or otherwise taken off, in the course of a season; the countries or places from which they are supposed to have come, and the routes by which they are generally brought, and the circumstances by which in general they are supposed to have become slaves; the nations and the individuals by whom they are supplied, and the price paid for them, both in the country from whence they come, and at the place at which you make the inquiry; their course down to the spot, where they are finally embarked for the foreign Slave Trade; and the means whereby that trade can at any of those places be best prevented or stopped in its progress.

38. You will likewise make special inquiries as to the state of slavery existing in any country you may visit. As far as you can, you will endeavour to ascertain the numbers so enslaved; what proportion they bear to the whole population; to what extent predial slavery prevails; the condition and treatment of slaves; whether liable to be sold, put to death, or how otherwise punished at the pleasure of the owner; whether the numbers are increasing or diminishing; who are liable to be made slaves, and for what causes; whether emancipation is in any and what cases allowed to take place; what powers the Chief possesses in respect of emancipating or improving their condition; what is the average value of slaves of different ages and sexes; and every other important particular calculated to throw light upon the character of domestic slavery at present existing in Africa.

39. You will also collect and transmit to me, in like manner, the most accurate information you can obtain as to the extent of the possessions of each Chief you may visit; and as to his influence beyond those possessions; as to the number of his towns and villages, and whether they are walled or open; as to the number of the inhabitants in the principal towns, and the total supposed population of his possessions; as to the rivers which run through those possessions, their source and mouth, and how far and for what boats navigable; as to the numbers and condition

of the army, as to the nature and amount of the contribution levied on the people and what are the further and financial resources of the Chief; and what is the extent of the power possessed by the Chief over his subjects: how far it is limited by law or custom, or by powers possessed by his elders or Headmen; and whether the succession to the Chief is hereditary or elective; and also, what is the personal character and influence of the present Chief.

40. You will, in like manner, collect and send to me, the most accurate information you can obtain on the state of trade in those countries; on the state of agriculture, and the state of the mechanical arts; on the climate, and on the soil; on the general face of the country, and on their animals tame and wild. You will learn, so far as you can, and enumerate the several productions of the soil, which, either in a raw or prepared state, may be turned to uses of commerce; and the several animals, and parts of animals, which may be turned to uses. You will learn and enumerate such of those several articles as now form articles of trade, the frequency and duration of the markets, the general supply and the price of each article at them, and the quality of each article. You will state the nations to whom, and the purposes for which they are sold. And, in respect of such articles of European produce or manufacture as you may see there, you will mark the price they bear, and the comparative desire the natives have for them, and how far the supply seems equal to the demand; and you will mark which of those articles you take with you, they appear most to esteem, and what others they ask for, and how it will be best to promote and increase an intercourse of commerce with them. You will, when you can procure them, get specimens of the several minerals, woods, grains, gums, and dyes, and, folding them in paper, state on that paper the name of the article, and place and date at which procured; and you will put down memoranda of the uses to which they are or may be probably applied.

41. You will collect also, and give what information you can get, on the religion of the natives, and on their state of civilization, including anything particular in their habits and customs; stating also their bodily appearance and mental character, and any striking virtues, vices, or talents, or capabilities of which they are

possessed, and any peculiar diseases to which they are subject, and what is the appearance and composition of their habitations. And you will add to this account any particulars you can observe and learn, respecting their implements both of peace and war.

42. You will be careful to note down any traces of former visits of Europeans, at the places or provinces which you visit, stating their objects, if known, and the apparent effects, if any, of their visits.

43. You will perceive from these instructions, that your attention, as to the acquisition of information, is first and principally to be directed to the countries on the banks of the Niger; but should very favourable opportunities arise of sending persons into neighbouring parts of Africa, with a well-grounded hope of advancing the principal objects of your Commission, you are authorized so to do, provided persons competent to such service shall volunteer; and in such cases, you are empowered to direct them either to return to the steamers before they quit the river, or to proceed to the coast, according to such route as you deem most advisable.

The expense attendant upon such subsidiary Commissions will be defrayed by her Majesty's Government; but you will exercise this power, so reposed in you, only when the state of circumstances appears to you fully to justify having recourse to this measure; and you will transmit in writing a statement of the reasons which may induce you to exercise this power, and the advantages expected to be derived from so doing. You will not fail to give all persons so employed by you full instructions for their conduct on such Expedition.

Whereas, likewise, it may happen, on your progress up the Niger, that you may have good reason to believe that the great objects of your Commission will be advanced by commencing a communication with Lokatoo, or the State of Bornou, or other countries at a distance from the Niger, in such cases you are authorized to send such proper persons as may be willing to go to the Chiefs of such States, to induce them to send agents, duly authorized to meet you, for the purpose of concluding agreements for the suppression of the Slave Trade; and you will instruct all persons so sent by you to procure all useful information on sub-

jects immediately connected with your Commission as to the Slave Trade, and also as to the state of the countries they may visit, in all important points, in laws of government, agriculture, and trade; and you will further direct them, so far as time will allow, and opportunity may occur, to record all interesting particulars as to the natural productions of the country, and other similar matters.

Instructions from the Admiralty will be given to the officer commanding the Expedition, authorizing him, if circumstances shall render it necessary for effecting and securing the objects of this Expedition, to leave behind in the River Niger, one or more of the steam-vessels, with power to the officer left in command, to come down to Ascension, and there refit, returning up the river, or elsewhere, when the healthy season shall again commence, and the interests of the service shall require it.

44. You will, in respect to each place which you visit, draw up a separate despatch, addressed to me, containing an account of your proceedings at that place, including also a statement of proceedings which had occurred since the date of the previous despatch.

45. You will also, in respect to each place, draw up a separate despatch, addressed to me, containing a statement of all the information which you have been able to collect respecting such place, under the heads on which you are directed to make inquiry, including in that despatch any information you have been able to collect on any other points, which you conceive may be interesting to her Majesty's Government.

46. You will number each of your despatches to me, beginning with No. 1, and continuing the number in succession, and you will transmit them to me as occasions may arise, for the information of her Majesty's Government; and you will keep copies of each of these reports, to provide for the case of accident.

47. You will also, each of you, keep minute daily journals of every transaction which may take place under your eyes, noting down in that journal, the occurrences as they take place, and the information, as it is given to you, together

with the observations you make on it at the time; and you will on your return, make up, each of you, and deliver to me, a full and complete narrative, in writing, of all affairs that have come to your knowledge during your mission, which you may deem worthy of communication to her Majesty's Government, and which may not have been included in the general despatches, including also a Report on the details and result of your Commission, and accompanying that Report by a copy of your journals.

48. You will be furnished, at the cost of her Majesty's Government, with a set of such Books, Maps and Charts, and Instruments, as you conceive may be useful to you in your Commission; and on your return, you will transmit the collection to this office, together with the originals of the official papers in your custody.

49. When the most important points of your Commission are fulfilled, it may happen that a part may yet remain, which will not require the presence of all the Commissioners. In that case, such of you as may be safely spared, without detriment to the service, may return to England; the rest will remain so long as you may deem it necessary, or as may be directed by orders from her Majesty's Government. With respect to the withdrawal of her Majesty's ships, the Commander of the Expedition will receive instructions from the Admiralty,

50. You will receive from me, and conform to such further instructions and directions, as her Majesty's Government shall, from time to time, have to give you, for your guidance in the interests confided to your care.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. Russell.

No. II.

Downing Street, January 30, 1841.

Gentlemen,

In my general instructions of this day's date, I have authorized you to make a conditional bargain of a site of land on the Niger, for the erection of a fort. But I have also instructed you, that you are not authorized to accept, on behalf of her Majesty, the sovereignty over any province or place which might be offered through you to the Crown.

The question of establishing British sovereignty in Africa must be reserved for future consideration and decision. But you will perceive from the accompanying copy of a letter, which has been addressed to me by Dr. Lushington and by Sir Fowell Buxton, that they have urged the establishment of such sovereignty as indispensable, in their judgment, for the success of the views of an agricultural society, who contemplate the prosecution of the special objects explained in the letter.

Dr. Lushington and Sir Fowell Buxton are desirous of the purchase of the sovereignty over a territory not exceeding one hundred miles square, in which the agent of the agricultural society adverted to, would, on behalf of that body purchase, in fee simple, the most eligible spot for the purposes of the society.

I can only, however, at present instruct you to make this proposition the subject of your most careful inquiry, with a view to your reporting.

1st. Whether a tract of land, of the nature of that required, could be easily obtained, and upon what terms.

2nd. Whether such territory might be acquired in a district deemed tolerably healthy for Europeans.

3rd. Whether the neighbouring tribes would be likely to be friendly or hostile to the proposed agricultural establishment; and,

4thly. What force would be required for the protection of such territory.

You will have carefully to weigh, therefore, the practicability, advantages, and dangers of acquiring sovereignty for the Crown over a considerable territory.

You are not to satisfy yourselves that a single Chief is willing to sell his dominions, or a portion of them, but are to consider the hazard of jealousy, and of hostility being excited among neighbouring Chiefs by the appearance of the British Flag, as a token of sovereign power in the midst of their possessions. You will have to calculate the force that would be necessary to maintain and defend the territory that might be acquired; the facility or difficulty of relief; the extent of territory necessary to protect those who might seek shelter and security within its borders, as well as the danger of invasion from any European power which might have settlements on the coast.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
J. Russell.

Dr. Lushington and Sir T. F. Buxton to Lord John Russell.

London, August 7, 1840.

My Lord,

In your Lordship's letter of December 20th, 1839, printed by order of the House of Commons, we have a very distinct explanation of the views of the British Government with regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade, and of the wise and elevated motives which induce them to resort to expedients hitherto untried for the accomplishment of that great purpose. From that document, we learn that it is intended to effect the abolition of the Slave Trade, "by teaching the natives of Africa that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject, than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the Slave Trader;" that factories are to be established at the stations on the Niger; and that "the Queen has directed her Ministers to negotiate conventions with the African Chiefs and powers; the basis of which conventions would be—

"1st. The abandonment and absolute prohibition of the Slave Trade, and

"2nd. The admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods, the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them."

The main object, then, of the Expedition, is to promote the extended cultivation of the soil of Africa; and in order to do this, British stations are to be established on the river, and African produce admitted for British consumption on favourable terms. We need hardly express our humble, but cordial acquiescence in these views; and our conviction, corresponding with that of her Majesty's Government, that "this plan affords the best, if not the only prospect, of accomplishing the great objects so earnestly desired by the Queen, her Parliament, and by her people."

Your lordship is probably aware, that it is in contemplation by some persons interested in the welfare of Africa, to make at this time an attempt to cultivate a district of that country. As a mere mercantile adventure, few would be disposed to embark in it; with a view to profit, it would be obviously expedient to wait till more was known, both of the advantages which the soil of Africa offers, and of the dangers to which the adventurers would be exposed. But gentlemen of the most acknowledged sagacity in the mercantile world, urged by a desire of rendering benefit to Africa, and convinced that there is no way of doing this so effectually as by demonstrating her agricultural resources, are willing to embark their capital, provided only that such facilities and securities are afforded to them as the Government have the power of bestowing.

For this purpose they require and trust that there will be no difficulty on the part of the Government in giving them a charter, limiting responsibility; they then will be prepared to make the experiment of cultivating a tract of country bordering on the Niger, and of raising in the first instance £50,000, with the intention, if the trial be successful, of hereafter inviting the public to unite with them in finding the funds for more extended tillage.

We now proceed to inquire what are the necessary conditions in order that this attempt may be made under the most favourable circumstances, and may lead to the most complete and striking

exhibition of the effects which cultivation will produce, and the blessings it will bring with it.

In these settlements, persons, property, and lawful occupations must be protected; the produce of free labour must receive encouragement in the European market. Finally a fitting example must be presented to surrounding nations of the benefits of Christianity, and of the advantages to be derived from civilized institutions. The simple enumeration of these particulars may suffice to show the impossibility of combining or securing them under any known form of native Government. All that is known of Africa, whether from British officers, or missionaries, or scientific travellers seems to concur in proving that settlements of this description must be kept apart from the contamination of prevailing native practices, and that their internal prosperity not less than their external security, can be maintained in no other way than by placing them under the protection of the British Crown.

It is clear that in the districts where the experiment is made, the sovereign power must be held by the British Government, and the natives obey our laws, or we must be subject to their authority, and submit to such laws as they may impose. Our rule and our institutions will be a pure gain to the Africans. We might then insure security of person and property within the precincts of our settlement, and we might take care that, there at least, none of the native superstitions and bloody rites were practised.

It is not too much to say, that wherever British Sovereignty shall be firmly established, there religious and civil liberty would instantly prevail, intestine wars and anarchy would cease; the Aborigines would be protected, equal rights be enjoyed by all, and every motive, aid, and opportunity, which public or private benevolence, or enterprize, might contribute towards the civilization of Africa, would be most successfully brought into operation.

But supposing the natives to be rulers, we must submit to all their abominations, and consent to see human sacrifices made, and to be thwarted by the evil influence which such sights exercise on all attempts at civilization. We believe that no

Company could be induced to endure this, and if that difficulty could be got over, we do not believe that our presence, under such circumstances, could effect any great advance in civilization.

If the districts cultivated by the persons to whom we have alluded, are under the dominion of Great Britain, Slavery must be abolished. This was done in Bulama, and is done at Liberia, and all persons resorting to those tracts of territory, have been declared to be free; and it is remarkable that we have from Captain Beaver, on the one part, and Governor Buchanan on the other, the strongest acknowledgments of the benefits which they severally derived from refusing to tolerate Slavery under any form. But advantages of this kind are not the strongest arguments for our insisting upon free labour. The extended cultivation of the soil of Africa, if unaccompanied with precautions against Slavery, may even aggravate and perpetuate this lamentable system: and every step towards extending and improving the resources of these countries may with them, as with Egypt, prove a step towards promoting and encouraging predial bondage. In short, our paramount object is to establish free labour cultivation, and to prove its superiority, thus providing wholesome and profitable occupation, and undermining the Slave Trade. If the district cultivated be British territory, there can be no Slavery, and it is hardly too much to say, that, under native rule, there will be no such thing at present as free labour.

Unless the territory which it is intended to till be subject to Great Britain, we shall be deprived of a large portion of the money which is to form the capital of our Agricultural Establishment. We look to members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, for a considerable portion of this capital. Some of them are ready to undertake Agriculture in Africa, provided that in that country they are circumstanced as they are already in England. The Government here finds them protection; they have no act or part in the matter; their scruples are not offended by having to ask for the aid of an armed police; they do not carry arms themselves, neither do they ask others to carry them. But unless we are sovereigns in the district we cultivate, our

people must protect themselves, and must be ready, on every occasion, to turn out against the enemy.

Lastly.—The British Government proposes to engage for "the admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods, the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them." And we readily admit that no inducement could be devised more efficacious for the purpose of leading the Native Powers to unite with us in the suppression of the Slave Trade; it would provide for them the two things which they most require, a market for their own products and a liberal supply of European goods; but we are at a loss to conceive how this boon can be conceded, unless the territory on which these products are grown be British. In the latter case, the Duties we impose may be as light as we please, and there will be no restraint as to the measure of encouragement which we may choose to give to the infant cultivation of Africa. But if the district belong to a native power, we shall be controlled by all our treaties with other nations, engaging to receive their commodities upon the same terms as those of the most favoured nations. We propose, for example, to grow Sugar in Africa by free labour, to come into competition with the Sugar of Brazil; we shall naturally be disposed to favour that which is intended as a blow against the Slave Trade, in preference to that which is produced by means of the Slave Trade.

In short, if the territory on which our capital is to be expended be British, we have it in our power to offer the most effectual encouragement for its growth, but the contracts we have formed with other nations forbid us to give this natural and powerful stimulus to the industry of tribes who are under native dominion.

Thus it seems that this great national experiment for awakening the people of Africa to a proper sense of their own degradation and misery, and for developing practically and before their eyes, the advantages which they might derive from the resources of their soil, and the pursuits of legitimate commerce, is liable to be defeated, and that system which it is declared affords the best, if not the only, prospect of accomplishing the suppression of the Slave Trade, will be exposed to difficulties at every step,

unless the experiment be made in the first instance, on land belonging to the British Crown.

We shall lose the aid of the Society of Friends, our Settlements will have to defend themselves, and thus be either weak and so tempt native cupidity, or if strong, themselves be tempted to aggression. We shall be unable to encourage it in its earlier stage, by favourable and light duties on its products. We shall lose the vast advantages which may be expected from the absence of Slavery. We must submit to witness, and almost to connive at those horrid rites which are practised in Africa under the name of religion.

In short, the administration of just laws, security, free labour, fiscal encouragement to African agriculture, constitute the essence of the new preventive system; without these, the experiment is forlorn, no body of persons will be hardy enough to attempt it, and these essentials are only to be obtained on a territory attached to Great Britain.

The practicability of obtaining such territory is sufficiently indicated by repeated instances of willingness on the part of the Chiefs and people of Africa, to dispose of territory (sovereignty and soil included), for adequate considerations.

By far the greater number of treaties made with African nations contain stipulations for the cession of territory, either absolutely or with reservations, and upon condition either of receiving a subsidy, or of enjoying the advantages of British protection and commerce. The preamble to many of these treaties attests beyond any question the sense entertained by the natives of the insecurity of their own condition, and their ardent desire to find refuge under a regular form of Government.

It is true that it has been the practice of the Government of late years to discourage arrangements of this description in Africa, and no doubt wisely. When the benefit contemplated was the extension of our dominions, the Government shewed their moderation by rejecting overtures which if they gratified ambition on the one hand, entailed responsibility and expense on the other; but the present plan suggests a definite object of a magnitude and importance which would seem fully to justify the

adoption of a different policy. If we acquire sovereignty over any given district in the neighbourhood of the Niger, it will be not for the purpose of enlarging the limits of our empire, but for the purpose of accomplishing an object, beyond all others, dear to the disinterested benevolence of this country, and of rescuing one of the most forlorn and populous regions of the world from the miseries of the Slave Trade. It has been truly observed, that "the state of Africa is such that change as it may, it cannot change for the worse;" this is especially true with respect to the principles and objects of the present plan, which presents a striking contrast to those of almost every scheme of Emigration or Commerce of ancient or modern times. The acquisition of land and the assumption of sovereignty now recommended, will be based on a full recognition of the independent rights of African Chiefs and nations.

It would be the result of voluntary cession, or of equitable purchase only. It would guarantee to individuals the possession of all personal and proprietary rights not inconsistent with justice and British institutions. It would rest upon the firm footing of the mutual interests of both contracting parties; the benefits of Christianity and of British protection, on the one hand, amply compensating for the surrender of savage independence; and, on the other hand, the advantages of enlarged and regular commerce, promising at no distant day, a sufficient reward for the additional labours and responsibilities of extended government. It is to be borne in mind that opportunities of this kind, if much longer neglected, may be finally lost. The Portuguese, in addition to their extensive possessions in Western Africa, have already assumed the sovereignty of a district extending fifteen hundred miles along the eastern coast; the American settlement of Liberia occupies three hundred miles of the western coast, and as we learn by a recent letter from Governor Buchanan, they are continually accepting the voluntary allegiance of Chiefs whose dominion stretches far into the interior. Your Lordship need not be reminded of the anxiety of the French to extend their African territory, and it is far from impossible that the Texians may, ere long, covet portions of the African soil, for the very purpose of giving facility to the Slave Trade.

Your Lordship will observe that we do not now, for the first time, urge the necessity of acquiring sovereignty. In the observations of Sir Fowell Buxton, addressed to the Marquis of Normanby, and in the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington's letter to his Lordship, 31st July, 1839, the same doctrine is maintained, and British sovereignty is represented as the most effectual instrument for accomplishing the great purposes of the Government; and the only difference is, that we now propose that British power should be confined within much narrower limits than those which were formerly suggested by us. Our opinions are unaltered that the acceptance of voluntary offers of sovereignty extending over whole kingdoms will be found the greatest boon which we can confer upon Africa, and the surest as well as the speediest mode of effecting the eradication of the Slave Trade. As, however, it is considered premature, at all events before the return of the Expedition, to resolve on any very important and decided mode of proceeding, we very reluctantly, and with a clear sense of the delay which it will occasion, and of the impediments not now existing which may arise, forbear to press upon your Lordship the immediate acceptance of any such offer, should it be made.

We hope, however, no objection will be entertained to the Commissioners becoming the bearers of conditional proposals of this nature, subject to the approval or rejection of the British Government, in order that they may be considered under the light which the Expedition is expected to throw upon the state of Africa. The objections which are supposed to exist to the acquisition of sovereignty upon a large scale, do not, we conceive, apply to the voluntary cession, on the part of African Chiefs, of portions of Territory comparatively small. Our proposal is then, that the Commissioners be instructed to purchase on the part of the Government, the sovereignty of a territory not exceeding one hundred miles square, bounded as far as may be by natural objects, commencing beyond the limits of the Delta, and running into the interior in the direction of the Niger, so as to keep the river well in the centre. The Agent of the Agricultural Society will also be instructed to purchase for the Company, in fee simple, the most eligible spot to be found

within this territory, for the purpose of commencing the cultivation of the soil.

Supposing both these arrangements to be carried into execution, we shall have a settlement circumscribed within narrow limits, and favourable in soil and aspect for the agricultural purposes of the Company, and we shall have the adjacent and surrounding country under British authority, and thereby protected from the injury which would necessarily arise if the Slave Trader were permitted to prowl about the skirts of the Farm. We shall have, moreover, the river running through the centre of the British dominion, and thus no longer open as a highway for the transport of Slaves.

In asking for a territory one hundred miles square, we speak, as we necessarily must, indefinitely; but it may turn out that a much smaller extent may be sufficient for our purposes; this point, therefore, must be left in great measure to the directions of the Commissioners.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,
T. FOWELL BUXTON.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

WHEREAS it has been signified to us by Lord John Russell, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, that Her Majesty being desirous of establishing a friendly intercourse with those African states which approach the Gulfs of Benin and Biafra, and which stretch along the great rivers Quorra and Chadda, and also of encouraging in the native population of those states that wholesome spirit of commercial industry which must tend to put down the traffic in slaves, has determined for these purposes to send there an Expedition, under the direction of four commissioners, of whom you have been appointed the

chief; and further that you have been already furnished by Lord John Russell with full instructions for duly carrying out Her Majesty's beneficent views, We have therefore caused the three steam-vessels, 'Albert,' 'Wilberforce,' and 'Soudan,' to be thoroughly equipped, in order to carry into execution the above recited objects, and having a full confidence in your zeal for Her Majesty's service, as well as in your ability, temper, and prudence, we have thought fit to intrust you with the command of this important Expedition, and we have therefore appointed you to the first-mentioned of these vessels, and we have directed Commander William Allen of the 'Wilberforce,' and Commander Bird Allen of the 'Soudan,' to follow your orders for their further proceedings: You are hereby required and directed to take the 'Wilberforce' under your orders, and as soon as that vessel and the 'Albert' are ready in all respects, to put to sea with them, and to proceed to the Islands of Madeira or Teneriffe in order to prove the rates of the chronometer, but touching by the way at Lisbon or Gibraltar, for a supply of coals, if any untoward weather should have rendered such a measure absolutely necessary.

From thence you will proceed to Porto Grande in the Cape de Verde Islands, as your first general rendezvous. You will no doubt find there Her Majesty's ship 'Soudan,' and the 'Harriet,' transport, and with them you will call at Sierra Leone for the purpose of embarking such parties of Krumen and interpreters as may be necessary for the service, and such other persons as you have been instructed to receive on board by the Secretary of State, and having proportionately divided them, into the several vessels under your command, you will make the best of your way to Cape Coast Castle, as your general rendezvous, in case of parting company.

After completing all your requisite arrangements there, and obtaining from the governor any information which may bear on your future proceedings, you will repair to the mouth of the River Nun, which there is reason to believe offers the most ready access to the main branch of the Quorra; but we desire that you will remain in the offing till your final dispositions are made, immediately removing from the transport all the stores which

can be wanted by the steam-vessels in their progress up the river, or which can be stowed by them ; and then directing her to proceed to Fernando Po, in order to deliver all the remaining stores to the agent of the West African Company, who has been directed to take charge of them for your future use, and who on giving her master proper receipts and vouchers, will signify to him that his engagement with Government has then terminated.

During this period you will also take means to have a satisfactory survey made of the bar of the Nun, with the approaching soundings, the entrance channel, and the adjacent anchorage, but under such precautions as may not prematurely expose your men and officers to the baneful effects of the climate.

If the objects of the Expedition should happily be fulfilled and should lead to a free intercourse with the interior, this survey of the bar will be of great moment in enabling all new-coming vessels to run at once into a secure berth. Any further survey of the lower part of the river must be deferred to a fitter opportunity, as we desire that when once entered, you will proceed across the whole breadth of the alluvial and pernicious Delta, as far as Eboe, with all the speed compatible with the safety of Her Majesty's vessels, and the comfort of their crews, and that you will not allow yourselves to be diverted from that object by any minor considerations whatever. Nevertheless as by that time the month of June will have commenced, and as the river will be at its lowest, all those flats and shoals which render its navigation so difficult when the river is full will then be above water, and their positions visible. You will therefore be prepared with a digested plan for the combined operation of all the three vessels under your command, by which the position and extent of those flats and banks may be approximately determined, the three tracts of continued soundings carefully recorded, and the opposite shores with their projecting points, creeks, villages, and general characteristics satisfactorily sketched —in short, you will take means for making such a competent though running survey of that part of the river as may ensure its safe navigation to Her Majesty's vessels when returning with a full or possibly with a falling river, and which will serve as the foundation for a subsequent and regular survey.

These preliminary matters being duly arranged, the transport dispatched, and proper dispositions made for giving mutual assistance to each other in case of touching on banks or rocks, you will at once cross the bar, and press forward to the scene of those operations which are so fully and clearly traced in the instructions drawn up by the Secretary of State, and which we hereby require and direct you to carry into execution. On those leading and specific objects of the Expedition, we need not here enlarge nor do we intend by these orders in anywise to interfere with your plans for carrying them into effect, nor with the periods at which you may think it prudent to visit the various districts along the rivers. To those primary objects, all other pursuits and inquiries must be subordinate, but next in importance to them, or rather as an essential part of them, we place the extension of geographic discovery, and therefore while in the upper waters of the Quorra and Chadda, you will consider it a part of your duty to send forward Her Majesty's ship 'Soudan' to the utmost limits of those rivers to which she can be floated with safety, and with a certainty that her return will not be intercepted by the falls of the water. Nor should your researches be bounded even by those limits, provided the season of the year, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the health of your own people are sufficiently encouraging to induce you to explore those rivers and their principal adjuncts still further into the interior by means of your boats. Such enterprizes, however, must never consist of less than two well appointed galleys and commanded by an officer of intelligence. For these parties you will carefully select native interpreters, who have seen the nature and power of the steam-vessels, and witnessed your friendly and peaceable conduct, and who will declare among the various tribes that may be visited, the real purport of the Expedition.

In framing the orders for these distant detachments, we desire that you will give the most peremptory directions that in no case whatever the two boats may be permitted to separate,—and that no over-confident individual may be allowed to straggle through the towns or villages, as an affray or some frivolous misunderstanding might mar all that you had already effected. It is also our opinion that on these occasions it is bad policy to

conceal the arms,—for though everything like violence or menace should be repressed, yet among such people the evidence of superior strength will obviate its employment.

We further desire that every exploring party, whether by land or water, should be accompanied by a medical officer, not only for the benefit of his comrades, but from the favourable impression that medical skill is sure of making on the artless and ignorant nation. While in the upper reaches of the river, some tempting opportunity may occur of sending an exploring mission overland; and though we do not altogether forbid occasional adventures of this kind, yet we insist on their never being undertaken but on the most sufficient grounds, where the object has been fairly weighed against the means, and where there is no probable doubt of a successful and pacific result. Distant and doubtful discoveries must be deferred to other opportunities.

Though any accurate knowledge of the country cannot be expected from the natives, yet by a series of judicious inquiries, frequently repeated and never put in a leading form, much general information may be obtained. Their memories can supply surprisingly accurate itineraries,—they can describe the magnitude and distance of the high knots and chains of mountains, and the direction and breadth of the intervening basins of the rivers and lakes. They know the principal products of their own and of the neighbouring districts, and of the caravans that transport them, and you will be able to learn from them the commencement and duration of the periodic rains in the distant mountain groups, which will throw a useful light on the perplexing subject of the intermitting rise of the rivers.

To give the greater dignity and weight to your proceedings at those places where chiefs of a certain rank reside, it may sometimes be prudent to retain with you more than one of the vessels under your command; but, whenever possible, two of them should be kept employed in exploring and surveying.

The upper parts of the river, as above directed, will first engage your attention, but afterwards, when the proper season arrives, you will undertake the examination of complicated branches through the delta, and the discovery of the quickest and surest channel of communication with the sea. The Benin

or Formosa, the Warri, the Cross, the Bonny, and the New and Old Calabar, have each had their advocates, and undoubtedly some of them near their mouths do appear to offer a wider, deeper, and more easy access than the opening of the Nuna, or central branch. On the other hand, according to statements which have lately reached this country, the Benin and other branches are said to fail at a short distance from the sea, while the Nuna, which from its position must evidently have been the principal agent in the protrusion of the delta, still seems to be the most direct road. In order to solve this important problem, you will in good time prepare all the necessary measures, so that you may be able at once to seize on the most favourable period of the year for this trying service; and the officer to whom it may be entrusted must be charged to pursue it with the utmost rapidity in his power, and yet with the utmost prudence, cautiously feeling his way with respect to the health of the people, and immediately retiring to the higher and more wholesome parts of the river, or proceeding to sea on the first appearance of disease. But you are not to consider that the leading and peculiar object of your mission, nor your efforts in discovery, are to be confined to the Quorra and Chadda, and their confluent or diverging branches—the Cameroons, the Malinda, the Gaboon, and sundry other streams of great magnitude, which empty themselves into the Bight of Biafra offer, if not a more extended, at least a newer field of discovery; and the same objects which are to be accomplished by your visit to the former rivers, equally invite the Expedition to explore the latter. Nothing being known of the direction that these Biafra rivers take, or the regions from whence they flow, or whether the period of the rains from which they are swollen is simultaneous with those which swell the waters of the Niger, the proper time for exploring them must be left to your own judgment, or to the information you may be able to glean.

If their sources be in the equatorial belt of mountains which traverses the African continent, then their rains, as well as the season proper for ascending them, will alternate with the rains and the season necessary for the navigation of the Quorra, and the two enterprizes will therefore not interfere with each other.

Nor does it appear that you need be apprehensive that you will have to pass through an extensive and sickly delta; for it has been reported to us by those who have entered the Bay of Cameroons that the river is seen to issue from between high and sound banks.

Another point to which we have to direct your attention in this quarter is the Cameroons Mountain, which it has been asserted is an island similar in formation to Fernando Po, and separated from the main land by narrow channels communicating with the mouths of the Rio del Rey. Its extensive base is said to be fertile and populous, and its height of 12,000 feet offers every variety of temperature, with forests of timber fit for the largest scantling; while at its foot the Amboises Islands afford a secure anchorage, untainted by Mangrove exhalations, and enjoying the full effect of the sea-breeze. If these assertions be correct, it would seem to be a place most singularly adapted for any agricultural establishment that may be the result of this expedition, and they will therefore deserve your careful examination.

It is our further direction to you that the officers employed on every species of detached service, whether by land or water, should present to you a full report of all their proceedings, accompanied by plans and views. You will also insist on the daily projection of all surveying work, never suffering it to fall into arrear; and you will take care that the several series of observations, in the various departments of science to which your attention may be directed, shall be so clearly and distinctly recorded in tabular or other forms that no data may be wanting for future computation. You have been liberally supplied with the most approved instruments for every purpose connected with geography and hydrography as well as for extending to Africa those magnetic and meteorologic investigations, which are now pursued with so much activity in all quarters of the world. Botanists, geologists, and gentlemen, whose tastes are devoted to various branches of national knowledge, accompany the Expedition; and, in order to carry on all these numerous inquiries in such a manner as to obtain the largest return with the least fatigue, we recommend you early in the voyage to organize the

officers and men under your command into proper parties for those several purposes.

In order to preserve a due uniformity of method in the execution of your surveys, as well as in the objects and tendency of your geographic engineers, we have directed our hydrographer to furnish you with proper extracts from the instructions usually given to our surveyors; and we desire that you will correspond with him on all the subjects connected with his department, and that you will transmit to him tracings of all your charts and sketches, and duplicates of all your observations.

Duplicates, also, of all your dispatches to our secretary should invariably be kept ready for convenient opportunities of forwarding them to any of Her Majesty's cruisers which may be employed in the Bight in preventing the approach of slavers during your stay in the rivers, and one of which will, until the 1st of October, be directed to appear close off the mouth of the River Nun on every full and change day of the moon, or on such other days as may be agreed upon by you and the senior officer in the Bight, and to remain there till sunset for the purpose of receiving your communications, and on the following morning to communicate with the palm-oil ships at Bonny for the same purpose. After the first four months, however, it is probable that your communication will be less frequent, and you will therefore make the necessary arrangement with the senior officer in the Bight as to more extended periods, or as to more appropriate points, at which the above-mentioned cruiser is to touch the shore.

Ingenious and costly contrivances for ventilating the vessels under your command having been fully supplied, as well as every article of nutriment or medicine which can tend to preserve or restore the health of your crews, or which may enable them to resist the reputed malaria of the climate, we desire that in the full and unsparing employment of all these resources you will keep in mind not only the immediate benefit and daily comfort of your own people, but also that you are carrying out a series of sanatory experiments of high importance to our future communication with those and other similarly situated countries.

Notwithstanding the above means of obviating or dispelling

the effects of the unwholesome districts through which you will pass, and the known skill of your medical officers, and the prudent precautions recommended in the enclosed letter from the Inspector-General of Naval Hospitals, it is probable that the sudden change of climate, with other local causes, will more or less affect the health of many individuals of the Expedition; and to this subject we especially direct your most scrupulous attention. In the event of anything like the appearance of contagious or endemic disease, you will form proper establishments by which the sick may be immediately separated, and where unremitting attendance may be given to them; or it may be expedient to construct temporary quarters for them on shore in some dry and cool place,—or in an extreme case, perhaps, it might be necessary even to convert one of your vessels into an hospital for all.

Whenever you may have occasion to go out of the Quorra, either to visit its other branches, through the delta, or to advance to the River Cameroons, you will find it expedient to remit your stores and provisions at Fernando Po; and when you have brought this service to a final conclusion, you will proceed there, and should you not find at that place any instructions from us to the contrary, you will return to England with the vessels under your orders, and on your arrival repair without delay to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings, bringing with you the logs and journals of all the officers and other persons on board the several steam-vessels, together with all charts, drawings, and observations made whilst up the Niger, which you are hereby instructed to demand from them, and which are all to be sealed up, and afterwards to be disposed of as we may think proper to determine.

If, however, it should appear to you that the intentions of Her Majesty's Government would be more fully carried out by returning to England yourself, or sending home another officer, leaving behind one or more of the steam-vessels, you are to use your discretion on this point, taking such steps as you may deem advisable for the health of the officers and crew, by sending them to Ascension, or to any other place which you may deem more advisable, until the commencement of the ensuing healthy

season, with a view to their then re-ascending the rivers, and following out the objects of the Expedition; or, if you should deem it more advisable, you are at liberty to leave them up beyond the delta, provided the state of the ships and the health of the crews be such as to justify this measure, bearing in mind our constant anxiety for the health and safety of those entrusted to your care.

If you decide to bring one vessel home, and to leave the other vessels in Africa, you have our permission to select from the officers and crews of the Expedition such persons as may volunteer to remain out for this service, keeping in view while making the selection their general state of health, and whether, from appearances and the Surgeon's report, they are likely to be in a fit state for a prolonged stay in the rivers.

In the event of an accident happening to any one of the steam-vessels, so as to cause her loss, or temporary or total abandonment, and the removal of her officers and crew to the other vessels, the officers and men of the vessel so lost or abandoned are to be borne as supernumeraries for wages and victuals, and are to perform their duties according to their respective ranks and stations in the vessels to which they may be so removed; and if the 'Albert' should be the vessel lost or abandoned, you are in that case to take command of either of the other vessels as you may deem expedient, bearing her Commander as a supernumerary for wages and victuals, and distributing the officers and crew of the Albert on board the two vessels as may be most convenient for the Service.

Should other circumstances make it expedient for you to assume the command of either of the other vessels, whether permanently or as a temporary measure, you are at liberty to do so, retaining her Commander as a supernumerary as before, or transferring him to the 'Albert,' as Acting Commander of her in your absence, as the Service may require.

In case of any fatal accident to yourself, Commander William Allen, or the senior surviving officer, is to assume the command of the Expedition on board any one of the three steam-vessels he may judge most fit for the benefit of Her Majesty's service.

During the whole period of this service you are to consider

yourself under our immediate command, and in case of an admiral or officer senior to yourself being employed on the Coast of Africa, we shall direct him not in any wise to interfere with your proceedings.

The mission which is hereby committed to your guidance being one of great importance in its object and principle, requiring sagacity and prudence in its development, and involving anxiety, exertion, and responsibility, we feel satisfied that your utmost will be done to fulfil our intentions, and that you will be supported by the unwearied and cordial co-operation of your two commanders, and of every officer and man under your orders.

Given under our hands this 22nd day of April, 1841.

MINTO,
T. TROUBRIDGE.

To HENRY DUNDAS TROTTER, Esq.,
Captain of Her Majesty's steam-vessel, 'Albert,'
at Plymouth.

By Command of their Lordships,
JNO. BARROW.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

REFERRING to our other instructions of this day's date, directing you to proceed with the steam-vessels therein-named on an expedition to the Niger, we hereby require and direct you, on your arrival on the Coast of Africa, not in any way to assume the command on that station, nor to interfere with the disposition of Her Majesty's ships and vessels under the orders of the senior officer now on the station, but to confine yourself entirely to the objects of the Expedition under your orders, and we acquaint you that for any assistance you may require from the ships on the African station, you are to apply to the senior

officer, who is directed to give it, provided it can be done without interfering with the duties on which they are employed, or inconvenience to Her Majesty's service.

Given under our hands this 22nd day of April, 1841.

"MINTO.
T. TROUBRIDGE.

TO HENRY DUNDAS TROTTER, Esq.,
Captain of Her Majesty's steam-vessel, 'Albert,'
on arrival at Plymouth.

By command of their Lordships,
JNO. BARROW.

To the Chiefs and People of Africa.

LISTEN to what we have to say. The Queen of England is a great Sovereign, and has sent us to offer you her friendship, and to talk with you as friends and brothers about the way to become wise and rich and powerful.

You know that the great God made all nations of the earth of one blood. White people are Christians, and worship this great God. They can do many things which black people cannot do; and they have almost everything that black people want: clothes, ornaments, tools, and useful articles of every kind. Some of these things we have brought with us to the Great Water, or Ka'wára, to show you what we mean; and anything else you desire can be sent you another time.

But for such things as these you must give us something of yours in exchange. You have been used to sell slaves for some of these things. But it is contrary to the laws of God and of white men to buy them of you, though some white men have been wicked enough to do so. Now you live in a country where everything grows very quickly out of the ground, and these are the things which we want. They will also bring you much more profit than slaves.

You must dig the ground, and raise cotton trees, indigo,

coffee, sugar, rice, and many other things of the same kind; and while these are growing, you can collect elephants' teeth, gold dust, gums, wax, and things of that sort, almost without any trouble.

Now, if you will always have plenty of these things ready for our people when they come, you shall have plenty of our goods in exchange.

Perhaps you will say we do not know how to make these things grow. But the Queen of our country has sent good men to teach you how, and also how to build houses, and to make clothes, and to read books, and to talk about the great God, who made all things. Only you must be very kind and attentive to them, and not suffer anybody to hurt them.

You may say again, our country is so disturbed by war, that if we dig and sow we are not sure of gathering our crops. But is not this the consequence of catching and selling each other for slaves? If you wish to be rich, you must be peaceful; therefore you must leave off this wicked practice. And if several of the chiefs would agree together to do so, their people would be much more safe and industrious and happy.

Perhaps some chief may say again, but what shall I gain by giving up the trade of catching and selling men? First, you will gain much by putting an end to war, for by this means your people will live quietly, and become industrious, and thus you will be able to get large tribute, like the kings and queens of Europe. Secondly, you will gain also in this way. Suppose you sell a man for five pounds; this sum you get for him only once; but if you make him free as our people are in England, and pay him good wages, he will work very hard, and will collect for you so much gum, or so many elephants' teeth, or help you to grow so much cotton and other things, that after paying him his just wages, you will get as much every year by his labour as you would have got only once by selling him and sending him away.

Now then, you must judge for yourselves. Our Queen offers you her friendship, and an innocent trade which shall make you rich and powerful and happy; but it is only on one condition, and that is, that you will promise solemnly to give up the prac-

tice of catching and selling slaves, even if wicked white people should ask you to sell them, and that you will punish, without cruelty, any one who tries to do so; we also hope you will give up the sacrifice of your fellow-creatures because it is displeasing to God.

Consider well the offer we now make you, and remember that if you accept it you will please the great God; you will have our powerful Queen for you friend; all good white people will love you, and will endeavour to help you, and you will soon become wiser, richer, and happier than you ever were before.

To the Commanders of the Vessels of the Niger Expedition.

I.—1. In issuing General Orders to the commanders of the vessels under my command, I would wish them to impress upon their respective officers and crews, that the mission on which our Most Gracious Queen has been pleased to send us for the benefit and happiness of the African race, is distinguished from all former Expeditions, by the disinterested and beneficent objects it has in view. It may, indeed, be said to have attracted the attention of the whole civilized world, and perhaps, it is not too much to add, that no Expedition ever left the shore of Britain with the good wishes and prayers of so large a portion of our countrymen. It is, therefore, incumbent on all of us to consider the responsible nature of the duties before us, and how much the force of good example may effect towards the accomplishment of the ends proposed, by exhibiting to the African the Christian in character, as well as in name, and proving by our actions the sincerity of our desire for their welfare and happiness.

2. In the preparations made for this great enterprise, every thing which could be thought of as likely to contribute to the health and comforts of the officers and men has been most liberally provided; it therefore more especially behoves us to use our best abilities and utmost endeavours zealously to discharge

our respective duties, humbly relying upon Him who ruleth all things, and remembering that success will mainly depend under the blessing of Almighty God, on the cheerful and cordial co-operation of every individual attached to the Expedition.

3. In our intercourse with savages, or half-civilized people, an unusual degree of forbearance will often be called for, and a kind, courteous, but at the same time, firm line of conduct will tend materially to remove suspicion or alarm, and create confidence.

4. We should always keep in view, that our object is the good of our fellow-creatures, and not our own, constantly remembering the golden rule, "to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us." And it is only in proportion as we retain this sentiment, and endeavour to make it the ruling principle of our actions, that we may expect a blessing to attend our efforts in the cause of Africa.

II.—1. In the event of your meeting with any of Her Majesty's ships or vessels of the African station, it is my direction that you carefully abstain from any interference whatever with them.

2. Should you require any assistance, you are to apply in my absence to the senior officer on the station, who is directed by the Admiralty to give it, provided that it can be done without interfering with the duties on which the vessels on the station are employed, or without inconvenience to Her Majesty's service.

III.—One of the most important parts of naval discipline, is that which has a reference to the health of the crew, more especially when employed on West African Station, and the immediate attention of the commanders is particularly directed to such of the following regulations as relate to that subject, in drawing up which, I have had the able assistance of Dr. McWilliam, the senior surgeon of the Expedition.

IV.—1. The Admiralty having spared no expense in providing the vessels of the Expedition with an expensive ventilating apparatus, it becomes the duty of all to make themselves acquainted with the system, as fully explained in Dr. Reid's paper, and to use their utmost endeavours to carry the plan fully

into operation, in order to make it as extensively useful as possible for the health and comfort of the crews.

2. The principal arrangement is to be placed under the charge of the surgeon of each vessel, who is to follow the rules and suggestions contained in Dr. Reid's valuable paper, and is to apply to the commander, to appoint a competent individual to instruct under his directions a sufficient number of persons for the management of the various valves and slides of the ventilating tubes. These should be numbered to insure an effective and easy adjustment. Odd numbers on the starboard, and even numbers on the port side, beginning from aft, is the plan adopted in the 'Albert.' The persons having charge of the different sections of the vessel should be fully instructed to report any apparent increase or diminution in the ventilation of the compartments under their charge.

3. The ventilation should be practised frequently, even when its beneficial effect is not required, and as many persons as possible should be encouraged to learn the principle upon which it acts, by putting into operation the various movements.

4. The powers of the fanners ought to be tested.

1st. In producing a circulation of air introduced into the vessel, directly from the external atmosphere.

2nd. In propelling the heated air of the engine-room into the hold and various compartments, as first practised in the 'Wilberforce.'

3rd. As connected with the medicator or purificator.

4th. In connection with the tubular heating apparatus attached to the purificator, or simply connected with the external tube leading to the fanner.

V.—The commanders are to direct the surgeons to send reports to them in writing from time to time, showing the results of the trials of the ventilation, and these reports are to be carefully preserved.

VI.—1. Dr. Reid's General Rule, No. 2, is not only to be strictly attended to every day, but one hold is also to be examined daily by the surgeon, (excepting on Sunday) and the state of the air reported to the commander, in order that every compartment may come under particular inspection during the week.

2. The hold of any compartment, suspected of being unwholesome, is as soon as possible afterwards to be completely cleared out, and thoroughly dried and ventilated, and its state afterwards noted in the log-book, when the names of any articles are to be mentioned, which may be considered to have caused the unwholesomeness.

3. The surgeon is also to draw up a particular report upon such occasions, a copy of which report is to be forwarded to me.

VII.—1. To avoid as much as possible any unnecessary exposure to the night air, the white crew are all to sleep below, when on the coast or up the river, and are on no account to be permitted to lie about the upper deck.

2. The Kroomen alone are to sleep on deck, to whom every facility should be given to protect them from the rain. It might be advisable when practicable, to fit up a canoe or boat, moored alongside, or astern of the ship for the accommodation of the Kroomen, when the vessels are at anchor, and much crowded on deck.

3. As few white men as the performance of the duty will admit of are to remain on deck during the night, particularly when rain or much dew is falling.

Those who are obliged to be on deck on duty, will be supplied when in unhealthy localities with respirators, and a fire is then to be kept all night in the cook-house for their benefit.

VIII.—As the hottest hours of the day are comprehended between eleven and three o'clock, the white men should be exposed to the sun as little as possible during that period.

IX.—1. Exposure on shore in Africa to the morning and evening dews, and the night air having proved even more prejudicial to health than the intense action of the sun's rays, no white person belonging to the Expedition, after arrival on the coast, is to be on shore between sunset and an hour after sunrise, unless with my permission, or that of the senior officer present, who is not to grant it, unless when duties are unattainable at other times, and care must be taken by the respective commanding officers, that the unavoidable exposure of white men on shore at night be reduced to the least possible amount.

2. The above precautions are considered necessary on the

coast generally, but more especially in the Delta of the Niger, where the exciting causes of disease are to be regarded as acting with increased energy, and all possible means are to be used for obviating their injurious effects.

It is to be hoped that the climate above the Delta will be found to be such as will admit of this restriction being modified.

X.—Boats or canoes going alongside their own or other vessels, are to be directed to take the shady side, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the exposure of the boats and crews to the rays of the sun.

XI.—*Dress.*—The commanders may give permission to the officers of the ships under their command to wear uniform jackets, and white hats or caps on shore or on board.

XII.—*Dress.*—1. Duck frocks and trowsers are to be worn by the white men during the day in fine weather, with flannel next to the skin. Each man must also be provided with two broad flannel waist belts, so that he may be enabled to have a dry one continually round his body.

2. The men's hats are to be of white straw, with a padding, or defence of some sort under the crown, to prevent the injurious action of the sun's rays upon the head. The white men are not allowed to go aloft without the officer of the watch seeing that they have attended to this necessary regulation.

XIII.—The crews are to be mustered before sunset, when the white men are to be clothed in their blanket dresses for the night, in addition to flannel clothing underneath.

XIV.—In case of any of the men getting wet, the officer under whom they have been employed is particularly charged to muster and report them in dry clothing, before they are allowed to go below. If the weather is not suitable for the clothes being hung in the rigging, a place on deck must be pointed out where they may be deposited.

XV.—As all surfaces giving out moisture by evaporation are injurious to health, open vessels of water, wet clothing, officers' towels, &c., should never be allowed to remain below, nor the crew permitted to wash themselves on the lower deck.

XVI.—While the steam vessels of the Expedition are at anchor on the Coast of Africa, and in the Niger, and more especially in the Delta and other unhealthy places,

a cup of warm coffee is to be given in the morning to each European, whenever the surgeon thinks it advisable, and also to such of the black men as the surgeon may think require it; to make which, one-third of an ounce of coffee, and one-third of an ounce of sugar are to be issued as an extra allowance.

XVII.—As it is most desirable to encourage temperate habits on board the steam-vessels of the Expedition, more especially with a view to the preservation of health; it is my direction that such individuals as do not take up spirits, be supplied daily with the established allowance of lemon-juice and sugar, except when their allowance of grog shall be stopped for punishment.

XVIII.—The Kroomen are allowed only two-thirds proportion of spirits, which is always to be mixed with at least three waters; but, as an encouragement to them also, not to take up their allowance, they are to be paid for any such savings, at the rate of six shillings per gallon; thus making their savings at two-thirds allowance of all spirits, calculated at this rate, equal to full allowance, at four shillings per gallon. This order is not to apply to savings payable to the sick mess.

XIX.—It is my direction that the issues of the following species of provisions on salt meat days be regulated from the time of arrival on the Coast of Africa by the following scale, observing that cranberries and pickled cabbage (which are to be considered as an extra allowance) are to be issued only in proportion to the salt meat actually taken up, and that the pickles are not to be served with pork, unless when salt meat shall have been issued the day before:—

Days.	Salt Beef.	Salt Pork.	Flour, &c.	Peas.	Pickled Cabbage.	Cran-berries.	Sugar for Cran-berries.	Mornings.	
								Coffee.	Sugar
	lb.	lb.	lb	pts.	oz.	ozs.	oz.	oz.	oz.
1 Salt Meat Day	¾	—	¾	—	1	2	¾	⅓	⅓
2 ,,	—	¾	—	½	1	—	—	⅓	⅓
3 ,,	—	¾	¾	—	1	2	¾	⅓	⅓
4 ,,	—	¾	—	½	1	—	—	⅓	⅓
5 ,,	¾	—	¾	—	1	2	¾	⅓	⅓

XX.—Preserved meats are to be issued to the company of her Majesty's steam-vessels of the Niger Expedition on Sundays and Thursdays, whenever the crews shall have been two days previously on salt meat; or, if more palatable to the crew, it may be

divided into halves, and served in four days of the week, mixed with salt meat, without interfering with the scale in the last order regulating the issues of pickles and cranberries.

XXI.—Wine and quinine may be given to the men occasionally in lieu of wine and bark, and its issue may be extended to the whole crew when thought desirable by the surgeon

XXII.—Unless absolutely necessary, the hammocks are not to be piped up in Africa until sunrise, which in the Niger is always about six o'clock, and when recommended by the surgeon a cup of coffee is to be given to every man before going on deck. The hammocks are to be left unlashed for a quarter of an hour, and then lashed up and taken on deck, and the duties of the ship proceeded with.

XXIII.—As ill consequences often arise from persons taking large draughts of cold water when thirsty, a small measure is always to be kept at the filterer or tank, and used by the ship's company, and no other is to be used by the men for this purpose.

XXIV.—The water of the Niger having been proved to contain much animal and vegetable matter, ought not to be used for drinking until boiled, and a little lime added to it to purify it.

XXV.—As it is extremely desirable to ascertain what constitutions seem best adapted to the climate of Africa, the surgeons of the respective ships are to be desired, as a measure preparatory to future observations, to note, according to the annexed form, the previous history, age, temperament, &c., of each individual on board :—

Names.	Ages.	In what Country born and educated.	Trade or Occupation.	How long at Sea. In Merchant Ships.	How long at Sea. In Men of War.	How long Abroad, and in what Climates.	What Disease he has already suffered from.	If any Disease in the Family to which he belongs.	Vaccinated.	Re-Vaccinated.	Married or Unmarried.	Temperament.	General Appearance.	Height.
														F. in.

XXVI.—1. The General Orders, of which this is No. XXVI., being standing orders and regulations for the guidance of the officers and crews of the vessels of the Niger Expedition, to be communicated to them by their respective commanders, or commanding officers, are to be kept separate from general memoranda and other orders, which, though they may be for the direction and information of the vessels generally, are only of a temporary nature. If one book only is kept, it must contain *General Orders* at one end, and *General Memoranda*, &c., at the other; a new book being commenced when the two sets of orders meet.

2. No. 900 in the General Signal Book, is to be marked in pencil as follows:—" Second Master, Clerk, or Clerk's Assistant, with the Order Book, to copy orders;" and, when obeyed, the officer is to sign his name and rank, as having copied the order correctly.

3. My clerk will occasionally be ordered to see that the general orders have been correctly copied; and, when satisfied of their correctness, to sign his name at the end of the last order.

XXVII.—1. It is to be understood, that all presents received from the African Chiefs, Headmen, or others of the country, for which some equivalent has or will be given in Government goods or money, shall be considered for the use of her Majesty.

Presents consisting of oxen, sheep, goats, poultry, vegetables, fruit, or other articles of provision received, are to be taken on charge, and accounted for by the Pursers and Clerk-in-Charge of the respective ships of the Expedition.

XXVIII.—Cowries having been supplied to the steam-vessels, chiefly for the purchasing of provisions and stores and other contingencies, on account of the Niger Expedition, it is my direction that they be reserved expressly for that purpose, and on no account be applied for the payment of savings of provisions or monthly allowance, without my permission in writing.

XXIX.—Mr. C. Wakeham, purser of the 'Wilberforce,' having, at my request, ascertained the average weight and measure of a certain number of cowries, and the sterling value thereof in regard to their cost to Government, and it appearing by his report, after a careful and tedious inquiry, that about four hundred cowries weigh about one pound avoirdupois, and that an imperial

pint measure will contain, on an average, about five hundred cowries when compact and the top levelled, and that the cost to Government of five hundred, in relation to the whole supply taken on charge by the Purser, of the Expedition, has been, as nearly as can be calculated, about 7½*d.* sterling; it is my direction that cowries be issued and received at the rate of five hundred for 7½*d.*, or one hundred for 1½*d.* sterling, and that when the imperial measure is used in payment, one pint to be considered equal to five hundred cowries, and also that in cases when the parties may agree to be paid in cowries according to weight, that four hundred be given and received as equal to a pound avoirdupois.

And as much valuable time which would be occupied in the counting of cowries might be saved by the use of the pint measure; the commanders of the vessels of the Expedition are to encourage the natives to adopt the plan, and to cause a number of pint measures to be made forthwith from the empty preserved meat cases, and to give them occasionally as presents, until a desire be expressed for them in barter.

In order to save the preserved carrots and other vegetables as much as possible, it is my direction, that whenever fruit or vegetables are on board, or can be procured at a moderate price for the ships' companies, they be served on preserved meat days with the preserved meat.

And as the total quantity of bread in the vessels of the Niger Expedition is not in proportion to the other species of provisions, it is my direction, that when yams, cocoas, plantains, rice, or any other wholesome vegetable can be procured cheaply, the crews be put on two-thirds allowance of bread.

Henry Dundas Trotter, Captain.

STATEMENT of the Number of Officers and Crews of the Vessels comprising the Niger Expedition, when they commenced their Ascent of the Niger, August 20th, 1841.

	Albert.	Wilberforce.	Soudan.	Amelia.	Total.
Europeans:—					
Officers . .	14	10	9	3	36
Civilians . .	1	8	..	..	9
Engineers . .	3	3	2	..	8
Stokers . .	4	3	4	..	11
Remainder of crew	29	33	15	4	81
Coloured:—					
Civilian (West Indian) . .	..	1	..	..	1
Men entered in England . .	14	7	3	..	24
Men entered in Africa . .	44	37	18	9	108
Total .	109	102	51	16	278*

HER MAJESTY'S STEAM-VESSEL 'ALBERT.'

List of European Officers and Crew, and of Coloured Men entered in England, belonging to Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel 'Albert' when she commenced her ascent of the Niger, August 20, 1841.

Officers.

Name.	Rank.
H. D. Trotter . .	Captain.
E. G. Fishbourne . .	Lieutenant.



* This number includes the interpreters, but not the men, women and children, belonging to the Model Farm, 21 of whom were in the 'Amelia,' and 2 in the 'Wilberforce.'

Name.	Rank.
*D. H. Stenhouse . .	Lieutenant and Assistant-Surveyor; died 28th October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
*Geo. B. Harvey . .	Master; died 2nd October, 1841, on board the 'Wilberforce' at Fernando Po.
†Theodore Müller . .	Chaplain (Chaplain to the Commissioners, and Arabic Interpreter).
J. O. McWilliam, M.D.	Surgeon (Surgeon to the Commissioners).
*James Woodhouse .	Assistant-Surgeon; died 30th of October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
*F. D. Nightingale .	Assistant-Surgeon (in 'Amelia'); died 17th of September, 1841, on board the 'Albert,' at the confluence.
William Bowden . .	Purser, (Secretary to the Commissioners).
*William C. Willie .	Mate; died 18th of October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
James W. Fairholme .	Mate (in 'Amelia').
R. T. Saunders . .	Second Master.
W. R. Bush . .	Clerk.
*W. H. Willmott . .	Clerk; died 5th of November, 1841, at Fernando Po.
Richard Mouat . .	Assistant-Clerk (extra Clerk to the Commissioners).
William Merriman .	Gunner.
John Langley . .	Engineer, 1st class.
*Albion Lodge . .	Engineer, 2nd class; drowned 8th of October, 1841, in the River Niger, when labouring under river fever.
James Brown . .	Engineer, 2nd class.

* Died from river fever or its effects.

† Escaped the river fever.

Civilian.

Name.	Rank.
†William Stanger, M.D.	Geologist and Explorer.

Ship's Company.

(Europeans.)

*John Fuge . . .	Captain of the forecastle (in 'Amelia'); died 29th of September, 1841, in River Niger.
*William M'Millan .	Quarter-Master; died 27th of September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.
Robert Thomas . .	Stoker.
Henry Davey . .	Carpenter's mate.
‡John M'Clintock . .	Stoker; died 21st November, 1841, at Fernando Po.
Thomas Ashcroft . .	Quarter-Master.
James Haughton . .	Gunner's mate (in 'Amelia').
*John Peglar . .	Armourer and stoker; died 6th September, 1841, in River Niger.
*Ellis Jones . .	Quarter-Master; died 26th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.
Edward Capps .	Captain's steward.
John Duncan .	Master-at-arms.
†John Huxley .	Sick-berth attendant.
*John Burgess .	Quarter-Master; died 14th September, 1841, in the River Niger.
Thomas Ward .	Gun-room steward.
Charles Loader .	Caulker.

* Died from river fever or its effects.
† Escaped the river fever.
‡ Death from casualty.

Name.	Rank.
*Lewis Wolfe	Yeoman of signals; died 27th September, 1841, on board 'Soudan,' at Fernando Po.
*Robert Millward	Purser's steward; died 22nd October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
†Richard Lamb	Gentlemen's steward.
*James Robertson	Stoker; died 17th September, 1841, at the confluence.
William Vine	Blacksmith.
James May	Boatswain's mate.
†Archibald Yair	Sick-berth attendant.
James Worwood	Able seaman.
*George Powell	Cooper; died 11th September, 1841, in River Niger.
*George Symes	Captain of forecastle; died 2nd October, 1841, in River Niger.
	Marines.
†Charles Hodges	Serjeant.
*John Waller	Corporal (in 'Amelia'); died 26th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.
*Henry Gibson	Private; died April, 1842, in Ascension Hospital.
*George Cole	Private; died 17th October, 1841, near Fernando Po.
James Barrett	Drummer.
‡Morgan Kinson	Private; died 6th November, 1841, at Fernando Po.
Benjamin Saunders	Private.
John Syms	Private.

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* Died from river fever or its effects.

† Escaped the river fever.

‡ Escaped the river fever, but died from the effects of climate on an impaired constitution.

Sappers and Miners.

Name.	Rank.
Tobias Edmunds	Corporal (lance serjeant).
James Craig	Private (lance corporal).
Daniel Carlton	Private.
*William Moffat	Private; (in 'Amelia,') died 26th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.

Coloured Men entered in England.

Place born.	Name.	Rating.
Guinea	William Oakley	Captain's cook.
Calcutta	Emanuel Mandulee	Gun-room servant.
West Indies	†John Williams	Captain's servant.
Bombay	William Underwood	Gun-room servant.
Halifax	Richard Wilson	Engineer's servant.
Gambia	†William Guy	Able seaman.
Kru Country	†Jack Be-Off	Ordinary seaman.
Gambia	†Richard Harry	Boy.
Sierra Leone	†Andrew Williams	Able seaman.
Jamaica	Edward Henderson	Sick-berth cook.
Antigua	†John Robertson	Stoker.
	†Thomas Johnson	Ordinary seaman.
Eboe	†James Graft	Stoker.
Sierra Leone	†James Carroll	Stoker.

N.B.—The 'Albert' lost after leaving England, Samuel Johnson, Captain of the forecastle, and John William Bach, mathematical instrument maker; the former was killed at sea by falling from the fore-yard on the 3rd July, 1841; the latter died of fever (not of an endemical kind) at the mouth of the River Nun, on the 15th of August, 1841.

* Died from river fever or its effects.
† Escaped the river fever.

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel 'Wilberforce.'

List of European Officers and Crew, and of Coloured Men entered in England, belonging to Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel "Wilberforce," when she commenced her ascent of the Niger, August 20, 1841.

Officers.

Name.	Rank.
William Allen	Commander.
†James N. Strange	Lieutenant.
Henry C. Harston	Lieutenant (in 'Amelia').
William Forster	Master.
†Morris Pritchett, M.D.	Surgeon.
†J. R. H. Thomson	Assistant-Surgeon.
†John Stirling	Assistant-Surgeon.
*Cyrus Wakeham	Purser; died 27th September, 1841, River Nun.
Henry C. Toby	Mate.
W. H. T. Green	Second Master and Assistant-Surveyor.
‡J. H. R. Webb	Clerk.
William Johnston	Engineer, 1st class.
Joseph Graystock	Engineer, 2nd class.
George Garritte	Engineer, 3rd class.

Civilians.

Name.	Rank.
†William Cook	Commissioner.
J. E. Terry	Chief Clerk to Commissioners.
William Simpson	Clerk to Commissioners.
†Rev. J. F. Schön	Missionary, of the Church Missionary Society of England.
*Dr. F. R. Vogel	Botanist; died 17th December, 1841, Fernando Po.

* Died from river fever or its effects.
† Escaped the river fever.
‡ Died on the second ascent of 'Wilberforce' under Lieut. Webb.

Name.	Rank.
C. G. Roscher . .	Miner and Geologist.
Lewis Frazer . .	Naturalist.
Alfred Carr . .	Superintendent of model farm (a West Indian of colour).
John Ansell . .	Collector of Plants.

Ship's Company.

(Europeans.)

Henry Collins . .	Blacksmith.
*Peter Fitzgerald .	Stoker; died 2nd October, 1841, Fernando Po.
John Bailey . .	Cooper.
John Wilson . .	Captain's cook.
Richard Smythers .	Gun-room steward.
Henry Hillier . .	Carpenter's mate.
†David Douglass .	Gentlemen's steward.
F. J. Gurney . .	Gunner's mate.
James M'Cluskey .	Stoker.
†Michael Walsh .	Carpenter's crew.
‡John Waddington .	Quarter-Master.
James Carr . .	Stoker.
George Crofts . .	Quarter-Master.
Absolam Delavante .	Arabic interpreter.
William Funge . .	Able seaman.
Joseph Hopkins . .	Sail maker.
Edwin Hoskin . .	Purser's steward.
George Boys . .	Captain of the foretop.
William Ward . .	Captain of the forecastle.
*James Kneebone .	Ordinary Seaman; died 11th September, 1841, River Niger.
*William Allford . .	Ordinary seaman; died 31st October, 1841.

* Died from river fever or its effects.

† Escaped the river fever.

‡ Died on the second ascent of 'Wilberforce' under Lieut. Webb.

Name.	Rank.
Richard James . .	Ordinary seaman.
William Lucas .	Boatswain's mate.

Marines.

*George Cuthbertson	Serjeant; died 11th October, 1841, on board, off Prince's Island.
William Jones .	Private.
Daniel Bloomfield .	Private.
John Bealey, alias Veley	Private.
William Ford .	Private.
John Osborne . .	Corporal.
Samuel Hill . .	Private.
Thomas Roberts .	Private.
William Day . .	Private.

Sappers and Miners.

William Martin . .	Second Corporal (Lance Serjeant.)
James Cotter . .	Private.
*William Rabling . .	Private; died 14th December, 1841, at the confluence.
Henry Rosemergy .	Private.

Coloured Men entered in England.

Place born.	Name.	Rating.
Barbadoes . .	†John Garner .	Captain's steward.
St. John's, America	‡James Case . .	Able seaman.
Gambia . .	‡John Dennis .	Able seaman.
Jamaica . .	†William Scott .	Ship's cook.
Haussa . .	†James Peters .	Ordinary seaman.
Jamaica . .	‡William Jackson .	Engineer's servant.
Cape Coast . .	†Lewis Asasa .	Ordinary seaman.

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* Died from river fever or its effects.

† Escaped the river fever.

‡ The fever with which these men were attacked in the river assumed the character of intermittent: they had previously had remittent fever on the coast before entering the river.

N.B.—The 'Wilberforce' lost, after leaving England, John Morley, carpenter's mate, and Henry Halbert, able seaman, (a coloured man;) the former was drowned at St. Vincent, Cape de Verde Islands, on the 10th of June, 1841; the latter died on the coast of fever, on the 23rd of July, 1841. Another coloured man, David Wright, seaman, died of apoplexy on the 22nd July, 1841.

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel 'Soudan.'

List of European Officers and Crew, and of Coloured Men entered in England, who were on board Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel 'Soudan' when she commenced her ascent of the Niger on the 20th August, 1841.

Officers.

Name.	Rank.
*Bird Allen	Commander; died 25th October, 1841 Fernando Po.
William Ellis	Lieutenant.
John Belam	Master.
*W. B. Marshall	Surgeon; died 21st September, 1841, River Nun.
*H. C. Collman	Assistant-Surgeon; died 6th October, 1841, Fernando Po.
W. H. Webb	Mate.
F. W. Sidney	Mate and Assistant-Surveyor.
*Nicolas Waters	Clerk in charge of provisions; died 22nd September, 1841, River Niger.
*William Kingdon	Assistant Clerk and Schoolmaster; died 13th of October, 1841, River Niger.
G. V. Gustaffson	Engineer, 1st class.
William Johnson	Engineer, 2nd class.

* Died from river fever or its effects.

Ship's Company.

(Europeans.)

Name.	Rank.
*Christopher Bigley	Stoker; died 2nd October, 1841, Fernando Po.
John Perram	Stoker.
William Strain	Gentlemen's steward.
*John Kirrens	Stoker; died 27th September, 1841, Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.
*John Whittaker	Quarter-Master.
*Charles Levinge	Captain's steward; died 9th September, 1841, River Niger.
John Davis	Captain's coxwain.
*William M'Lackland	Sailmaker; died 24th November, 1841, in 'Warree,' on passage to England.
Cornelius Trower	Stoker.
*John Young	Quarter-Master; died 27th September, 1841, Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.
*James Thomas	Carpenter's crew; died 21st September, 1841, River Niger.
John Straman	Able seaman.
John Wood	Gunner's mate.
Henry Dennis	Boatswain's mate.
*James Hill	Gun-room steward; died 25th September, 1841, Her Majesty's brigantine 'Dolphin,' on passage to Ascension.

Marines.

Hugh Isaacs	Corporal.
Richard Pitham	Gunner, Royal Marine Artillery.
John Hibberd	Private.
Philip Tyack	Private.

* Died from river fever or its effects.

Coloured Men entered in England.

Place born.	Name.	Rating.
Dominique, West Indies	John Gray .	Sick-berth attendant.
Tortola, West Indies .	Michael King	Purser's steward.
Gambia, Africa . .	*George Lee .	Able seaman.
St. Thomas, Africa .	†James Vaux	Able seaman.

N.B.—The 'Soudan' lost, after leaving England, Richard Edwards, Purser's steward (a coloured man) who was drowned at sea 20th May, 1841.

* Escaped the river fever.

† Had remittent fever in the river, but not of the same kind as attacked the Europeans.

ESTIMATE OF EXPENSES.

Where to be found.			
	First Cost.		
Report of Sir E. Parry of the 14th Nov., 1839.	1. Cost of the two larger vessels, including engines, masts, rigging, sails, anchors, cables, and fixtures . . .	£24,000	
	Cost of the small vessels, including the same	6,750	
			£30,750
Estimate of Captain Trotter of 25th Feb., 1840.	2. For each vessel, one complete suit of spare sails and of awnings, and a set of side awning curtains, and a *chevaux-de frise*, and an additional spare cable, and fitting the boilers, and hooping them with wood.		
	Mr. Laird has engaged to supply the fittings, if approved by the Admiralty, for	£753	
			£753
Estimate of Captain Trotter of 25th Feb., 1840.	3. Recent improvements in regard to steam-vessels, viz., for the three vessels: 1st, a boat over each paddle-box, as in the 'Firefly;' 2nd, Seward's gauge for		

Carried forward . . £31,503

First Cost.

1. The estimate for this item has been laid before Parliament. It is inserted here only to aid in combining in one view the whole estimated expense of this expedition.

2. Sir Edward Parry is of opinion that these additional equipments are necessary for the service.

Mr. Laird made the first suit of sails, and Sir Edward Parry thinks it advisable that the second suit should be made by the person who made the first, provided he will supply them at the same rate at which they are supplied from the dock-yards. Sir Edward Parry added to the estimate first made by Mr. Laird, "I consider this tender to be reasonable and proper."

3. Captain Trotter supposes that the paddle-box boats will cost from . . £300 to 320

Seward's salt water gauges . 40

Mr. Laird estimates the ex-

Carried forward, £360

On actual reference to the builder's estimate for contract, it appears that the expression here used is liable to misinterpretation. The cost of these additional equipments was to have been 903*l.*; but Sir E. Parry having considered unnecessary certain articles, including ordinary fittings, amounting to 150*l.*, the saving thereby accruing in the first item was carried down towards the expense of the additional articles forming Item 2, and the expense of these was stated at 753*l.*, or for the two items, 31,503*l.* Mr. Laird now, however, by a letter which Captain Trotter has handed in, marked A, says that these additional articles will cost 1046*l.*, instead of 903*l.*, thus making the additional expense to be contemplated under the two items, 896*l.*, instead of 753*l.*, being 143*l.* more. Captain Trotter thinks it would be at any rate desirable that Mr. Laird

WHERE TO BE FOUND.

	Brought forward . .		£31,503
	ascertaining the saltness of water in the boilers; and 3rd, a break or compressor for paddle-wheels, as fitted in the 'Gorgon' and 'Cyclops' .	£700 to 1000	
			£1000
Estimate sent in by Captain Trotter 25th Feb., 1840.	Portable boats made in compartments for the purpose of being used occasionally as palanquins, &c. for crossing rivers, when the commissioners are employed on land journeys, according to the plan of Sir Wm. Symonds, Mr. Consor, Mr. Wermysey, as may be considered most expedient, the expense of which cannot be exactly ascertained, about .	£300	
			£300
	Carried forward		£32,803

Brought forward, £360

pense of the compressors for the paddle-wheels, together with an apparatus for discharging hot water from the boilers, at . 240

Captain Trotter wishes in addition, fittings-up of compasses on Professor Airy's plan for counteracting the effect of local attraction . . . *300

Captain Trotter states it would be essential to lay down oil-cloth between decks to prevent the necessity of wetting the decks, the expense of which he estimates at . . 100

£1000

should even at the present cost, make the *chevaux-de-frise*, and felt the boilers, and from the experience he has had of Mr. Laird, he believes the increased estimate is in other respects likely to be correct.

See on this point Captain Trotter's letter of March 26th, 1840, and Mr. Laird's therein inclosed A.

* Mr. Laird estimates these at 100*l.* for each vessel.

4. If the Commissioners are to be employed on land journeys, these portable boats may be most useful. It does not appear that they would otherwise be requisite. One boat, however, will be wanted as a life-boat; and this should be a superior boat.

As we apprehend that the Commissioners are not to be employed on land journeys, we recommend that the life-boat only be got under this item of expenditure.

Captain Trotter presses for an additional number of tents, in which to put his men under cover on shore, thus separating the sick from those in health.

The camp equipage in Item 8, is

Under the observations on the other half of this page, this item would be thus modified :

For one superior life-boat, from 80*l.* to £100

For additional camp equipage, about . . 200

£300

Where to be found.			
	Brought forward . . .		£32,803
Estimate sent in by Captain Trotter 25th Feb., 1840.	5. Two small portable high-pressure steam-engines, to be adapted to circular saws for procuring a more expeditious supply of fuel for the steamers whilst up the river, and also to be applied to propelling a fan for the ventilation of the vessels, and for many other useful purposes, the exact expense of which cannot be correctly estimated, about	£600	
			£600
	Carried forward . . .		£33,403

estimated at 220*l*. It comprised 3 marquees and 4 tents, and some other equipments. Captain Trotter is desirous of having this doubled, or nearly so, and we think the request is reasonable.

We recommend it therefore for approval.

5. Upon particular inquiry upon this head, we find that Mr. Brumel, whose authority may be deemed of great weight, is of opinion, that circular saws attached to a portable steam-engine, would be so liable to get out of order, that the machine would be useless for the purpose intended.

Mr. Laird is also of this opinion, and says that the ventilation fan may be worked by two men by hand.

Under these observations, Captain Trotter wishes to omit the portable steam-engines, and the more particularly as it is found, after minute inquiry, that the plan of Dr. Reid for ventilating the vessels may cost much more than he was led to anticipate.

Mr. Brumel approves the plan of ventilation proposed by Dr. Reid, as explained by Mr. Laird; and under the observations on the opposite half of this page, this item would be thus modified:

For fans for ventilation, and wheels for each vessel, estimated by Mr. Laird at about 35*l*. each say . .	£105
For tubes for each vessel for ventilation, about 100*l*. each .	300
For additional fittings up, say	95
For expenses of Dr. Reid, including remuneration to him for his services .	100
	£600

It may here be observed, that in the Expedition of Messrs. Laird

Where to be found.			
	Brought forward		£33,403
Estimate sent in by Captain Trotter 25th Feb., 1840.	6. For ventilating the steam-vessels on a plan proposed by Dr. Reid, for which he has not been able to propose an estimate; also for various other contingencies which cannot possibly be ascertained at the present time, about	£1,000	1,000
	Carried forward . . .		£34,403

and Oldfield to the Niger, extreme inconvenience was occasioned by the bad ventilation of the vessels. Good ventilation is, therefore, an important point to provide for.

6. Captain Trotter, on being asked what remaining contingencies on this head were to be expected, so far as he could now calculate them, mentioned that as there were apparently some rocks at Boussa, which it would be easy and desirable to remove, in order to clear the passage, he should require blasting tools for that purpose.

Item 1st. He estimates the blasting tools at about .	£140
Item 2nd. Diving-helmet and apparatus . .	100
Item 3rd. He thinks it would be expedient also to have instruments for examining the channel, and determining points of shoals and shores; and he estimates these, on the computation of Captain Beaufort, at 100*l.* for each vessel . . .	300
Item 4th. He estimates the expense of journey of the Commissioners to Liverpool and elsewhere on service, at	200
Item 5th. For additional fittings in the cabins for the Commissioners, he requires about	117
Carried forward .	£857

70*l.* have already been expended, but not paid on this service.

Where to be found.			
	Brought forward . .		£34,403
Estimate of Captain Trotter 17th Dec., 1839.	7. Presents	3,000	
Ditto	8. Camp equipage . . .	220	
Ditto	9. Mathematical and philosophical instruments	313	
Ditto	10. Miscellaneous, including books, maps, and musical instruments .	209	
		£3742	
Summary of the above attached to estimate by Mr. Baillie.	Ten per cent for packing and contingencies . . .	374	
			£4,116
	Total first cost		£38,519

Brought forward . .	£857
Item 6th. And to provide for the excess now estimated in Item 2 of first cost, there will be required .	143
	£1,000

Items 7, 8, 9, 10. The estimate for these items has already been under your Lordships' consideration. We insert the estimate here for completing a view of the whole expense of the Expedition, and we put the items separately, because Captain Trotter now asks an additional supply of articles comprized in one of them, viz., that of camp equipage.

Where to be found.		Twelve Months' Expenses.	
	Stores.		
Report of Sir E. Parry of 14th Nov., 1839.	1. Gunners', carpenters', and boatswains' stores for six months, for the three vessels	£2,000	
Estimate of Captain Trotter of 25th Feb., 1840.	2. To complete the above-mentioned stores for twelve months, Sir E. Parry's estimate, only including a six months' complement of these stores. To be supplied from Her Majesty's Dock Yards' and Ordnance Department .	2,000	£4,000
Estimate of Captain Trotter of 5th Feb., 1840.	3. Engineers' stores for twelve months, to be supplied from Her Majesty's Dock Yards . . .	1,000	1,000
Estimate of Admiralty of 6th May, 1840.	4. Carriage of boatswains', carpenters', and engineer's stores . .	355	355
	Carried forward		£5,355

Twelve Months' Expenses.

STORES.

1. This item was in the estimate already laid before Parliament

2. It is indispensable to complete the estimate for this item of supply. Captain Trotter states, that the estimate first made of these stores is rather under the average of those supplied for six months, to vessels of the same size as the vessels here in question. But that the additional sum will be sufficient to cover the deficiency of the first estimate, and to complete the supply for such period as may be expected to elapse before the return of the Expedition.

Captain Trotter represents at the same time, that for felling wood for fuel, he will require additional axes and cross-saws; the expense of which, he finds on inquiry, will be £150

And he requires some more spades, plug-bolts, and tools of that description, as by List marked E, amounting to . 90

3. The engineers' stores, it appears, were overlooked in the estimate first made. This estimate is drawn up according to supplies allowed under Admiralty regulations to vessels of the same size as these; and Sir Edward Parry approves of the estimate.

The provision for this expense is accordingly made under Item 16, £240

4. In order that the steam-vessels may not be overloaded in their passage across the Atlantic, it appears desirable that the spare stores should be sent to Africa in other vessels. The estimate of the expense has been made at the Admiralty.

Where to be found.	Stores—*continued.*		
	Brought forward . .		£5,355
Estimate of Captain Trotter of 25th Feb., 1840.	5. Medical stores for twelve months, including various other necessaries, wine, &c.	300	
		—	300

Estimate of Admiralty of 6th March, 1840.	6. Coals to be sent to Lisbon,	225 tons	at 25s.	£281	5	
	„ Teneriffe or Cape Verds,	225	„ 34s.	382	10	
	„ Sierra Leone . .	450	„ 44s.	990	0	
	„ Fernando Po .	750	„ 54s.	2025	0	
	„ Ascension .	450	„ 55s.	1237	10	
		2,100 tons		£4916		
	With an addition of about 5s. per ton for delivering the coals into stores, making the total expense .			£5438	0	
						5,438
	Carried forward .					£11,093

Stores—*continued.*

5. The Physician-General has estimated the necessaries, bedding, and wine, for three vessels :

With 214 men, at	£114	12	11
And the medicines, at	44	14	3
	£159	9	2

But Captain Trotter observes, that the estimate of the Physician-General is made only for twelve months; and owing to the state of water in the river, or to accidents, the Expedition may be detained out another season ; and 2nd, that it is very desirable to have a large supply of medicines to dispense to the natives.

We think there is force in these observations.

6. It appears that this estimate does not take in all the coals wanted, viz., those at Liverpool and at Falmouth. Mr. Laird estimates those needed for trial at Liverpool, say 60 to 75 tons, at 16*s*. . . £60

From Liverpool it will be as well to take in enough to carry one not only to Woolwich, 160 tons, but to Fal-

Carried forward . £60

Under the observations in the opposite page, this estimate will now stand at £4750 15

Viz.,

	£	s.
For trial at Liverpool, 75 Tons, at 16*s*.	60	0
Take in at Liverpool, 240 Tons, at 16*s*.	192	0
To take in at Falmouth, 220 Tons, at 20*s*.	220	0
Carried forward	£472	0

Where to be found.			
	Stores—*continued.*		
	Brought forward . .		£11,093
	Cost of 150 tons put on board three steam-vessels at Woolwich	140 0	
			140
	Total for Stores,		£11,233

Carried forward . . £11,233

Stores—*continued.*

Brought forward . .	£60	
mouth, 80 tons more, 240 tons, at 16*s* . . .	192	
At Falmouth, 220 tons Welsh coal, at 20*s*. . .	220	
	£472	

But, on the other hand, Captain Trotter does not intend to touch at Ascension on his outward passage, so that half the sum estimated for coals there will be saved, viz.,

Cost of 225 tons, at 55*s*.		£618	15
And estimated expense of delivery, 225 tons, at 5*s*. .		56	5
And, on reconsideration, he thinks that 500 tons will be sufficient supply at Fernando Po. The saving in this case will be 250 tons, at 54*s*.		675	0
And 5*s*. per ton for delivery		62	10
To this is to be added, the coals calculated on being taken in at Woolwich, but which will not be wanted under the above arrangement		140	0
Making a saving of .		1,552	10
And deducting from this the amount taken in at Liverpool and Falmouth . .	472		
Carried forward	£472	£1,552	10

Brought forward	£472	0
To take in at Lisbon, 225 Tons, at 25*s*.	281	5
To take in at Teneriffe or Cape de Verds, 225 Tons, at 34*s*.	382	10
To take in at Sierra Leone, 450 Tons, at 44*s*.	990	0
To take in at Fernando Po, 500 Tons, at 54*s*.	1350	0
To take in at Ascension, 225 Tons, at 55*s*.	618	15
	4094	10
5*s*. per Ton for delivery on 1625 Tons	406	5
10*s*. more on 500 Tons at Fernando Po	250	0
	4750	15

Where to be found.				
	Brought forward			£11,233
	Provisions.			
Report of Sir E. Parry of 14th Nov., 1839.	7. Ordinary provisions for 155 men for twelve months . . .		2,648	
Admiralty letter of 2nd March, 1840.	8. Carriage of provisions and slops to Cape Coast . .	£396		
	Ditto ditto, to Fernando Po.	330		
			726	
			£3,374	
	Carried forward . .			£11,233

Stores—*continued.*

Brought forward	£472	£1,552	10 *s.*
And an additional expense at Fernando Po (for Capt. Trotter finds on inquiry that the cost of delivery into store at Fernando Po* will be 15*s.*, instead of 5*s.*, so that 10*s.* per ton must be added for the expense of the 500 tons to be taken to Fernando Po . .	250		
	——	722	0
There will remain still a saving in the estimate of .		830	10
Say, in even numbers, a saving of		800	0

* See paper marked K.

This 800*l.* may go towards the additional expenses of the Kroomen, provided the Government agrees to that additional expense.

PROVISIONS.

7. The estimate for this supply has already been laid before Parliament: but it is here to be observed, that the sum of 1,146*l.* for Ordnance provisions, included also in the estimates delivered in on that occasion, should be omitted, as it is included in this estimate.

8. Captain Trotter thinks it desirable to send the provisions, as by estimate, to Fernando Po; but he thinks the sum estimated for sending them by cost of freight to Cape Coast, may be more advantageously applied

Where to be found.			
	Provisions—*continued.*		
	Brought forward . .	£3,374	£11,233
Sir E. Parry's Report of 14th Nov., 1839.	9. Preserved meats and soups (for the sick)	1,104	
Captain Trotter's estimate of 25th Feb., 1840.	10. Additional expense for the occasional supply of preserved meats and vegetables, to be issued in lieu of the salt provisions	500	
	Total for provisions . .		£4,978
	Salaries and Wages.		
Lord John Russell's letter to Treasury of 20th Dec., 1839.	11. Salaries to Commissioners and Secretary, and additional allowance to Chaplain and Head-Surgeon .	4,000	
	Carried forward . .	£4,000	£16,211

Provisions—*continued.*
to this service, if part of it were expended in sending them only to Sierra Leone, and he were allowed with the remainder to hire or purchase a vessel at Sierra Leone, to take them on with him to the mouth of the Quorra. He states that the sum estimated will cover the expense of this altered arrangement likely to be useful to the Service.

9. In the estimate laid before Parliament, it was stated by mistake, that this supply was meant for the sick. It should have been stated, that it was to be served out to the crew, instead of salt provisions.

10. In consideration that it will be feasible up the Quorra to purchase fresh provisions at a low price, Captain Trotter is of opinion, that this sum may be struck out, and that the sum of 1,104*l.* in the previous estimate will be sufficient for this item.

We recommend that it should be struck out accordingly.

This 500*l.* may go towards the additional expenses of the Kroomen, if that additional expense should be sanctioned by the Government.

Salaries and Wages.

11. This item is estimated at 4,000*l.* in the letter of Lord John Russell, already laid before Parliament.

WHERE TO BE FOUND.			
	Salaries and Wages—*continued.*		
	Brought forward . .	£4,000	£16,211
Sir E. Parry's Report of 14th Nov., 1839.	12. Wages for twelve months for 155 men, officers, and crew of the three vessels.	7,898	
Captain Trotter's estimate of 25th Feb., 1840.	13. Sum required to make up double pay to the officers and crews of three steam-vessels. Lord Minto having been understood to agree to such an		
	Carried forward	£11,898	£16,211

Salaries and Wages—*continued.*

12. This is an estimate already laid before Parliament. Captain Trotter requests us to observe, however, that he considers it would be very desirable to have, 1st, an additional assistant-surgeon for each of the larger vessels; 2nd, a portion of Marine Artillery instead of Marines, as artificers are generally found in that branch of the service; 3rd, eight Sappers and Miners, as he anticipates the expediency of blasting rocks at Boussa; and, 4thly, an additional pay to three officers—one to each vessel—for laying down shores and shoals.

Captain Trotter observes at the same time, that the whole of the 7,898*l.* will not be wanted for the purpose stated in Item 12, because some of the officers to be employed are now on half-pay, and the amount of their half-pay will be saved.

He states that the additional expense under these heads will be balanced by the diminution above-mentioned.

He estimates the excess here asked for at . .	£16,594 8
And the diminution at	1,651 0

13. We think that this is no more than a reasonable compensation for arduous service in a fatal climate, and under the consideration that there will be no hope of prize-money.

The particulars of the statement of Capt. Trotter, as to the excess he requires, and the saving he contemplates, are given in his letter of the 26th March, 1840, and in the accompanying papers, marked F, G, & H.

Sir Edward Parry approves of the alteration in the complement of officers and men here suggested, and carried out in papers F, G, and H, accompanying this estimate; and he believes that the computations in those papers, as to the allowances to be given under the suggestions is proper, and the calculations of the savings which will be effected is accurate.

Where to be found.			
	Salaries and Wages—*continued.* Brought forward	£11,898	£16,211
	arrangement, in a conversation which he had with Mr. Buxton	7,898	
Captain Trotter's estimate of 25th Feb., 1840.	14. Additional pay to engineers when steam is up within the Tropics, agreeably to Admiralty Regulations; say for six months	675	
Captain Trotter's estimate of 25th Feb., 1840.	15. Wages and victuals for 64 Kroomen, or other African sailors, to be entered at Sierra Leone, and to be employed during the stay of the Expedition in Africa (say for nine months), 11 of these men to be paid as stokers, or 1st class petty officers, the remaining 53 as able or ordinary seamen, or landsmen, as may be deemed expedient	1,942	

N.B.—It has not been considered necessary to give the Kroomen double pay, but to have the power of giving them better ratings than they usually have in men-of-war on the coast of Africa, to ensure getting the best description of men, as there will be no inducement of prize-money.

	Carried forward	£22,413	£16,211

Salaries and Wages—*continued.*

14. Sir E. Parry approves this estimate as being according to Admiralty regulations.

15. On reflection and further inquiry, Captain Trotter wishes to correct this item. He thinks it essential that he should have the power to hire 120 African sailors, instead of 64; so that he may have some to spare by whom to send intimation of occurrences from place to place; also to head the vessels on their passage with a view to soundings; also to help in case the vessels get a-ground. He estimates at about 14,000*l.* the additional expense, consequent on this additional number of men. We think his request worthy of consideration.

Captain Trotter also thinks, on account of the great temptation held out to the Kroomen to leave the Expedition in the course of its proceeding, he should have authority to promise that such Kroomen, and perhaps interpreters, as remain with him to the end, and have during the whole Expedition behaved faithfully, should have one month's wages as a gratuity on their return with him.

Mr. Lewis, who has resided at Sierra Leone, and knows the Kroomen, concurs in this observation. Major Sabine, who knows them, concurs also in it.

And, on looking at the events of

WHERE TO BE

Salaries and Wages—*continued.*

	Brought forward	. £22,413	£16,211
Captain Trotter's estimate of 25th Feb., 1840.	16. For the payment of interpreters and the purchase of canoes, &c., on the Coast of Africa, and for various other contingencies which may not have been anticipated, or which it is impossible accurately to estimate, about	2,000	
	Total of salaries and wages . .		£24,413
	Total of twelve months' expenses . .		£40,624

Salaries and Wages—*continued.*

the last Expedition up the Niger, feeling that the Expedition might suffer from the departure of the Kroomen, we think that Captain Trotter's suggestion ought to be adopted.

As the gratuity will only be given to those Kroomen who return to Sierra Leone, after having behaved well, Captain Trotter thinks that the expense, including a gratuity of the same nature and amount to the interpreters, will not exceed 200*l.*

Of the 1,600*l.* thus required in excess, provision will be found in the saving for coals, Item 6, for . . .	£800
And in Item 10, on the saving for provisions .	500
And in Item 16 for the remaining . . .	300
	£1,600

16. Captain Trotter thinks that at least twelve interpreters ought to be engaged at Sierra Leone. Some of these will be got at a low price, but some may require a considerable price to induce them to leave their business or trade.

He estimates the wages and victuals of these interpreters together at . . .	£700
Carried forward .	£700

We have made inquiries upon this subject from Mr. Lewis, who has long been a resident at Sierra Leone, and that gentleman entirely bears Captain Trotter out in the statement.

Salaries and wages—*continued.*

Brought forward . .	£700	
Captain Trotter states that the canoes should be in great number, to give facilities in case of the vessels running aground, and that he shall require some small funds for the contingency of buying a shell of a vessel at Sierra Leone to carry to the mouth of the Quorra.		
He requires for these objects	300	
He estimates the expense of taking care of stores and provisions at Fernando Po, and elsewhere, at . .	220	For this item see the accompanying letter from Captain Trotter, with the enclosed memorandum from Mr. Blunt, Chairman of the Fernando Po Company, K.
To make up the pay to the additional number of Kroomen	100	
And for the gratuity to Kroomen and interpreters .	200	See observations on Item 15.
For additional saws and axes, and entrenching tools, for which see Item 2, and List E. . . .	240	
For an additional clerk, 100*l.* to . . .	130	
And for stationery and small articles . .	110	
	£2,000	

ABSTRACT.

First Cost.

Build and ordinary fittings .	£30,750	
Equipments necessary for this service .	4,469	
Presents, and packing ditto . .	3,300	
		£38,519

Twelve Months' Expenses.

Stores	£11,233	
Provisions .	4,978	
Salaries and Wages .	24,413	
		£40,624
Total . . .		£79,143

MEMORANDA OF ITEMS REPORTED IN THIS PAPER.

First Cost.

No 2	£753	
„ 3	1,000	
„ 4	300	
„ 5	600	
„ 6	1,000	
		£3,653

Twelve Months' Expenses.

No. 2	2,000	
„ 3	1,000	
„ 4	355	
„ 5	300	
„ 6	5,578	
„ 8	726	
„ 10	500	
„ 13	7,898	
„ 14	675	
„ 15	1,942	
„ 16	2,000	
		£22,974
	Total	£26,627

Brought forward . . .			£26,627
Items, the amount of which has already been laid before Parliament.			
First Cost.			
No. 1 .		30.750	
Twelve Months' Expenses.			
No. 1 . . .		2,000	
„ 7 . . .		2,648	
„ 9 . . .		1,104	
„ 11 . . .		4,000	
„ 12 . . .		7,898	
			£48,400
Items previously considered by Lord John Russell, but not laid before Parliament.			
First Cost.			
No. 7, „ 8, „ 9, „ 10 } . . .			4,116
			£79,143

(Approved) W. E. P.

(Signed) J. P.
„ J. B.

VITAL STATISTICS OF THE EXPEDITION AT ITS CLOSE.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT of the Cases of FEVER that actually occurred on board H.M.S. Albert, (including Amelia tender and Model Farm), Wilberforce, and Soudan, while the vessels were in the Niger: showing also where the deaths took place*.

H.M.S. Albert, including Amelia Tender and Model Farm.

Albert in the river 64 days.

Number of officers, white seamen, marines, and sappers	62†	
Of whom were attacked with fever in the Niger	55, or 1 in 1·127	
Died on board the Albert . . .	9	
„ Wilberforce . .	1	
„ Soudan . . .	1	
„ Dolphin . . .	4	
„ Merchant ship Warree	1	
Died at Fernando Po Sick Quarters .	6	
„ Royal Naval Hospital, Ascension	1=23	
Ratio of deaths in total number victualled		1 in 2·696
„ in number of cases . .		1 in 2·391
Men of colour of various nations entered in England.	15‡	
„ attacked with fever in Niger	6, or 1 in 2·500	
Blacks entered on the coast . . .	76	
„ attacked with fever in river . .	0	

* These Tables are wholly irrespective of the ships to which the officers, seamen, &c., belonged. They are intended to denote on board of what ships they were first seized with fever: and in what ships, or where the deaths took place. Without some plan of this nature, it would be impossible to convey a clear idea of the vital statistics of the expedition; seeing that at the Confluence the distribution of the crews of the squadron was considerably changed.

† Adding Captain B. Allen, Mr. Webb, mate, and William McLauchlan, sailmaker, of Soudan, who joined before the Albert left the Confluence to proceed upwards, and were taken ill immediately afterwards: also Mr. Kingdon, schoolmaster, and Mr. Ansell, collector, who were received on board in a dangerous state from fever, when the Albert was at the Confluence on her way out of the river, and deducting Lieut. Fishbourne.

‡ Adding one received at Confluence when the Albert was descending the river.

H.M.S. Wilberforce; in the River 45 days.

Number of officers, white seamen, marines, and sappers	56*
Of whom were attacked with fever in the Niger	48, or 1 in 1·666
Died on board the Wilberforce . .	6
„ at Fernando Po Sick Quarters . .	1=7
Ratio of deaths in number victualled .	1 in 8·000
„ in number of cases . .	1 in 6·857
Men of colour of various nations entered in England	7†
„ attacked with fever in Niger	3, or 1 in 2·500
Blacks entered on the coast . . .	39

H.M.S. Soudan; in the River 40 days.

Number of officers, seamen, marines, and sappers	27‡
„ attacked with fever in Niger .	27, or 1 in 1·000
Died on board the Soudan . . .	5
„ Wilberforce . .	1
„ Dolphin . . .	4=10
Ratio of deaths in total number victualled	1 in 2·700
Men of colour entered in England . .	3
„ attacked with fever in Niger	2, or 1 in 1·500
Blacks entered on the coast . . .	18

* Deducting Mr. Ansell.

† Deducting the officer of colour received on board Albert at Model Farm.

‡ Including Lieut. Fishbourne, who joined her at the Confluence, before descending the river.

Statistical Summary deduced from the above Tables.	Albert, &c.	Wilberforce.	Soudan.	Total.
Total number of whites	62	56	27	145
Cases of fever among ditto	55	48	27	*130
Deaths among ditto	23	7	10	40
Number of blacks	91	46	21	158
Cases of fever	6	3	2	11

H.M.S. Wilberforce on her return to the Coast in 1842.

Died of fever	1

Wilberforce's Second Voyage up the Niger in July, 1842.

Number of whites on board	8
Number attacked with fever	7, or 1 in 1·140
Deaths in number on board from after-effects	2, or 1 in 4·000
Ditto in number of cases	1 in 3·500

* *Names of those who escaped the Fever in the Niger.*

ALBERT. William Stanger, M.D., geologist, suffered afterwards from intermittent in England.

Theodore Müller, Chaplain, left the river at the Confluence.

Charles Hodges, Serjeant, Marines, was frequently unwell afterwards from head-ach, but was a good deal relieved by ulcers breaking out in the legs.

Morgan Kinson, P. Marine, died of gastritis at Fernando Po.

John Huxley, sick-berth attendant, had a severe fever seven weeks after leaving the river at Fernando Po.

William Lamb, mid-steward, ditto, ditto.

Archibald Yair, sick-berth attendant, left at the Confluence in Soudan, and was quite well throughout.

WILBERFORCE. William Cook, Commissioner, left the river in Wilberforce.

James N. Stange, Lieutenant (now Commander), ditto, ditto.

Morris Pritchett, M.D., Surgeon, ditto, ditto.

James F. Schön, Chaplain, ascended to Egga in Albert.

T. R. H. Thomson, Assistant-Surgeon (now Surgeon), left the river in Soudan. Suffered much from intermittent fever on his return to England,

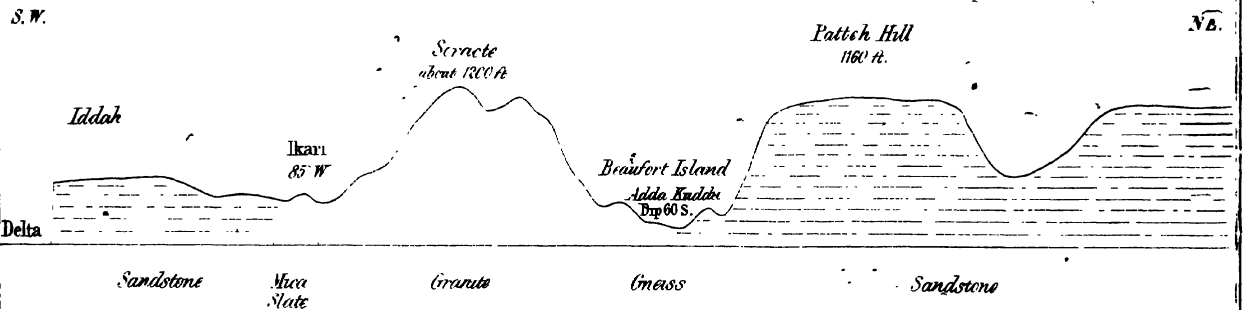
John Stirling, Assistant-Surgeon, left the river in the Soudan.

Walsh, carpenter's crew, left the river in the Wilberforce.

Douglas, mid-steward, ditto, ditto.

RETURN — TOTAL MORTALITY, stated under the respective Ships to which the Officers, Seamen, Marines, &c., belonged, from the time the Expedition left England to its completion.

	ALBERT, including the AMELIA, &c.				WILBERFORCE.				SOUDAN.				
	Officers, including Engineers.	White Seamen, Marines, and Sappers.	Kroomen, liberated Africans, &c.	Total.	Officers, including Engineers.	White Seamen, Marines, and Sappers.	Kroomen, liberated Africans, &c.	Total.	Officers, including Engineers.	White Seamen, Marines, and Sappers.	Kroomen, liberated Africans, and other Blacks.	Total.	Grand Total.
Average complement . . .	21	37	88	146	21	36	49	106	11	19	21	51	303
Deaths from fever contracted on the coast	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	2	....	....	....	....	2
" " in the river	6	14	...	20	3	6	....	9	5	8	....	13	42
Accidents	1	2	1	4	. .	1	....	1	....	....	1	1	6
Other complaints	...	2	...	2	....	....	1	1	.. .	....	....	....	3
	7	18	1	26	4	7	2	13	5	8	1	14	53



Ideal Section of the River Niger from the Delta to Egga, shewing the relation of the Sandstone to the Older Rocks.
S.W.
N.E.
Iddah
Ikari
85° W
Soracte
about 1200 ft
Beaufort Island
Adda Kudda
Dip 60 S.
Pattch Hill
1160 ft.
Delta
Sandstone
Mica
Slate
Granite
Gneiss
Sandstone

DR. STANGER'S GEOLOGICAL REPORT

TO THE

AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY.

In the following notes, scanty in consequence of the unfortunate circumstances under which the country was visited, I beg leave to communicate to the Society, the geological phenomena which came under my notice, during the exploration of 340 miles of the river Niger, from the mouth of the Nun branch of that river to Egga.

The Delta, a flat tract, composed of clay and sand, in some places containing mica and much vegetable matter, extends 120 miles up to Eboe. The banks in this part are elevated only a few feet above the level of the river, and the country in the interior is swampy. Within the reach of the tidal waters, mangrove trees abound and a few palms, but beyond this point, the surface is covered with dense forests of the Bombax, and other large trees. From the mineral character of the soil of this part, I prognosticated granite would be found in the upper part of the river.

From Eboe to Iddah, a distance of 100 miles, there is a gradual rise of country, and the land is higher on the sides of the river, but still very swampy, and the soil of the same character as in the Delta. There are no hard rocks in this part of the country, the cliffs of Iddah being the first which occur. These cliffs are 185 feet high, (barometrical measurement,) and are composed of sandstone, the strata of which are for the most part horizontal, but occasionally dip at an angle of 3° S.E.*

* Along the west coast of Africa, at Accra, and perhaps Sierra Leone and Monrovia, is a sandstone of the same character, which at Accra is horizontally stratified, and may possibly be connected with the same rock as that observed on the banks of the Niger.

The sandstone is fine granite, and composed of transparent particles of white quartz. The upper beds are highly ferruginous. The strata are cut through by joints running in all directions. In a cave north-east of Iddah, the sandstone occurs in horizontal strata, and shows well the appearance of false stratification, being cut across diagonally and very regularly by numerous parallel lines, having the appearance shown in the section A; between the diagonal lines, there is a thin layer of peroxide of iron

After very careful examination, only one obscure fossil, having some resemblance to a Pollicipes, was detected in the sandstone. The cliffs of Iddah are formed by the outcrop of a ridge of hills running N.E. and S.W.

From Iddah to Kirri, the country is composed of the same sandstone, which is more or less ferruginous in places, and which forms elevated table-lands, bounded by cliffs and masses of debris.

At Kirri, mica slate occurs, dipping at an angle of 85° west. These strata on the right bank stand up in high masses, having the appearance of leaning walls. Opposite Kirri, in the bed of the river, is the "Bird rock," which is a mass of white quartz, evidently embedded in the mica slate. From Kirri to Adda-Kudda, the hills are granite, on the south side of which the mica slate rests, but the point of junction from the river could not be seen. These hills, which have been called the "Kong Mountains," do not attain a height of more than 1200 feet, of which Mount Soracte appears to be the highest. Beaufort Island is of granite, much decomposed on the surface, which is rough from the projection of felspar crystals. This granite contains little mica, and is composed of felspar and quartz, with a small quantity of hornblende. The blocks of granite are piled one upon another like masonry, and the soil between them is a rich loam. At Okaze, the granite is large crystalline, and contains very beautiful opalescent felspar.

At Adda-Kudda, the granite is mixed up and complicated with gneiss, which generally dips at an angle of 60° to the south. The granite forms veins running into the gneiss in all directions. and in some places the granite contains embedded masses of gneiss.

From Adda-Kudda up the river, as far as examined, the sandstone occurred in horizontal strata as before, but generally more highly ferruginous.

At Stirling Hill, the peroxide of iron occurs in great abundance, in form of "pea-iron ore," of a very beautiful character.

Mount Patteh, which is 1160 feet high, is the commencement of the table-land "on the north side of the granite," which ppears to be the character of the country above this place.

From the preceding facts the following conclusions may be drawn:

The granite is the central axis, mica slate and gneiss occurring on each side and dipping at great angles.

The sandstone lies unconformably on the mica slate and gneiss, as shown in the ideal section of the river.

The phenomena observed indicate three geological periods.

1st. The eruption of granite and elevation of mica slate and gneiss.

2nd. The deposition of the sandstone unconformably on the flanks of the mica slate and granite.

3rd. The upraising of the whole country, and the cutting through of the granite and the sandstone; the destruction of which at a more recent period, would afford the materials for the formation of the Delta, such as we now find composing it.

(Signed) WM. STANGER.

END OF VOL. I.

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